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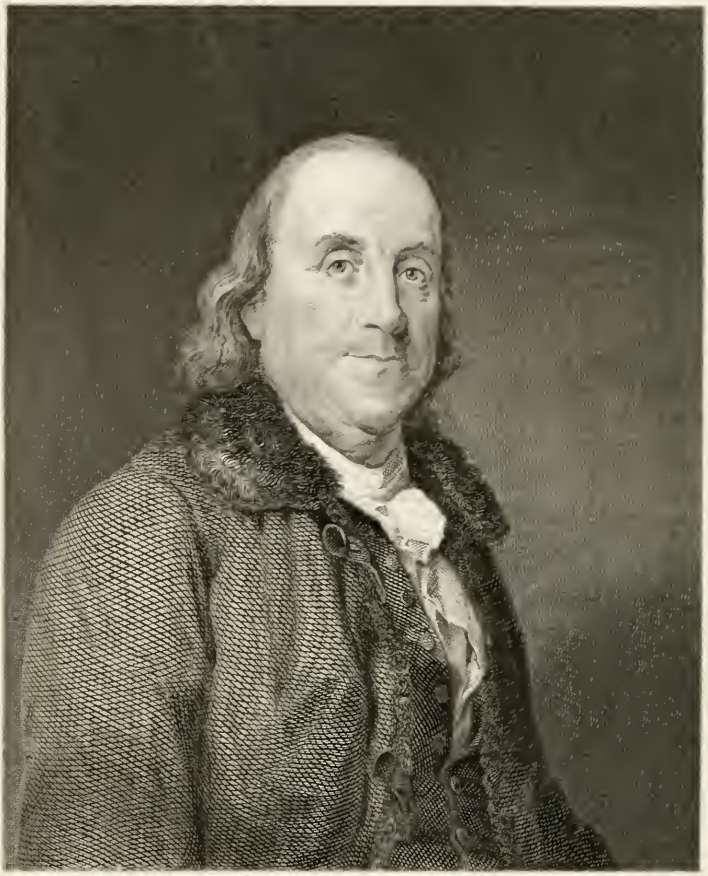

Benj.ª Franklin

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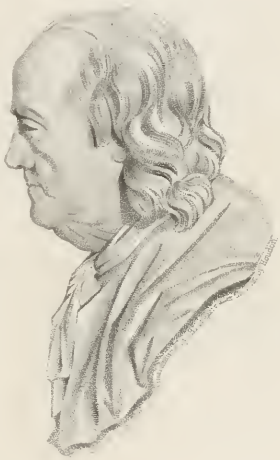

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IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

In every age and nation distinguished for arts and learning, the inclination of transmitting the memory and even the features of illustrious persons to posterity, has uniformly prevailed. The greatest poets, orators, and historians, were contemporaries with the most celebrated painters, statuaries, and engravers of gems and medals; and the desire to be acquainted with a man's aspect, has ever risen in proportion to the known excellence of his character, and the admiration of his writings.—GRANGER.

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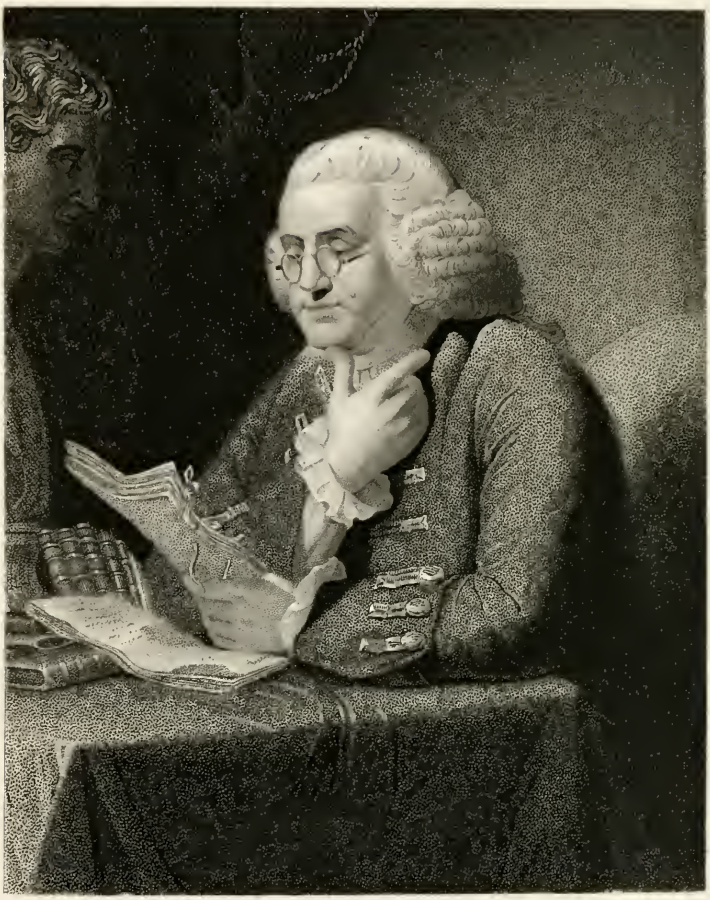

Benj.ª Franklin

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,

LL. D., F. R. S.

Dr. Franklin was unquestionably a very remarkable man; one who, in any age or country, would, by the mere force of his native talents, have made a respectable figure in life. It is probable, however, that had his lot thrown him in an older or more refined community than America was in his youth, he would not have been contemplated as the sun of the system. He, like many other distinguished characters, was much indebted to circumstances. It must be admitted, too, that he had many conceits, or fancies; that he was by no means without his foibles; and that, in his own phrase, he committed some great errors in the early part of his career.

This is not said with any view of detracting from the eminent merit of Dr. Franklin, but as his own and the candid opinion of posterity; when he looked back upon his errors, he freely confessed them, pointing out to others the rocks and quicksands on which he struck, or into which his passions or his inclinations had plunged him. Most of his mistakes seem to have been the effect of constitution, or at least constitutional organization favored their growth. His passions were not violent; his affections were rather steady than warm; his sensibilities rather correct than acute.

It has been ascertained that the Franklin family were settled at the village of Ecton, in Northamptonshire, England, on a freehold estate, of about thirty acres, more than three hundred years ago; the eldest sons generally having been blacksmiths. "Our humble family," observes Franklin, in the admirable memoir which he wrote of his own life, "early embraced the reformed religion. Our forefathers continued protestants through the reign of Mary, when they were sometimes in danger of persecution, on account of their zeal against popery."

The family preserved its attachment to the Church of England, till towards the close of the reign of Charles II., when some of its members, amongst whom was Josias the father of Benjamin, the subject

of this memoir, became non-conformists. Marrying early in life, Josias came with his first wife and a few children to America; BENJAMIN was born in Boston, January 17th, 1706; he was the fifteenth of seventeen children; his father attained the age of eighty-seven, and his mother that of eighty-five. Over their grave at Boston, some years after their death, our philosopher placed a stone, bearing the following inscription:—

HERE LIE

JOSIAS FRANKLIN, and Abiah his wife; they lived together with reciprocal affection fifty-nine years, and, without private fortune, without lucrative employment, by assiduous labor and honest industry, decently supported a numerous family, and educated with success thirteen children and seven grandchildren. Let this example, reader, encourage thee diligently to discharge the duties of thy calling, and to rely on the support of Divine Providence.

He was pious and prudent,
She discreet and virtuous.
Their youngest son, from a sentiment of filial duty, consecrates
This stone
To their memory.

The father had emigrated to enjoy religious freedom; he was a tallow-chandler and soap-boiler. Young FRANKLIN, having been intended for the ministry, was sent to a grammar school when eight years of age; but as the father's circumstances frustrated that design, he was taken home, and employed in cutting wicks, filling moulds, and waiting on his parents, performing in fact the duties of an errand boy and youngest apprentice. Not liking that occupation, in which he continued two years, he wished to become a sailor; but it was at length determined that he should be a printer; he was accordingly bound to one of his brothers, who, having learned the trade in London, had returned and settled in Boston. Previously to this, the youth had evinced a strong partiality for reading; it was now in some measure gratified, and conceiving a passion for poetry, he wrote two ballads on local subjects, which his brother printed, and then despatched him about the town to sell the copies. Finding, however, that prose was more likely to become his *forte* than verse, he paid great attention to a volume of the Spectator, which accidentally fell into his hands; his nights were now devoted to perusing such books as his limited resources enabled him to obtain. It is curious and interesting to trace the progress of his mind, and we therefore enumerate some of the books which thus early engaged his attention. Defoe's Essays on Projects, and Dr. Mather's on Doing Good, were among his earliest studies: the style of the Spectator delighted him;

in his memoirs will be found an account of his exertions to imitate it. Aware of the difficulties he must encounter without a knowledge of arithmetic, in which he had failed at school, he now borrowed a little treatise, which he mastered without assistance; he then studied navigation. At the age of sixteen, he read Locke on the Human Understanding, the Port Royal Logic, and Xenophon's Memorabilia.

At this age, he adopted a system of vegetable diet, by which he saved one half the money allowed for his board; and he states that by abstaining from flesh, he found his apprehension quicker, and the faculties of his mind in general improved. We now find the philosophic young typographer purchasing books with the little sums he was enabled to save by the frugality of his diet.

His brother commenced, during this apprenticeship, the publication of a newspaper, the second that had appeared in America. After having assisted in setting the types, and printing the paper, young FRANKLIN was sent to distribute the copies. At this time, though yet a boy, he enjoyed the singular pleasure of being the admired author of many essays in the periodical; a circumstance which he had the address to keep a secret, for some time, even from his brother; but on its becoming known, he was severely lectured for his presumption, and treated with great severity. From the passionate disposition of his relative, who even went so far as to beat him, he regarded his apprenticeship as the most horrid species of servitude. "Perhaps," says he, "this harsh and tyrannical treatment of me might be a means of impressing me with the aversion to arbitrary power that has stuck to me through my whole life."

It so turned out, that one of the political articles gave offence to the general court of the colony; the publisher was imprisoned, and forbidden to print any more copies; to elude this prohibition, BENJAMIN was now made the nominal editor, and his indentures were ostensibly cancelled. His brother having obtained his release, our youth took advantage of this act, to assert his freedom, and thus escape from the ill usage he had been subjected to. He had in the course of his reading imbibed, from Shaftesbury and Collins, those sceptical notions which he is known to have held during a part of his life. The odium to which these subjected him, his father's displeasure, and his brother's abuse, seemed to leave him no alternative but to seek another home; and at the age of seventeen, he embarked on board a small vessel bound to New York.

Not meeting with employment in that city, he proceeded to Philadelphia, where, on his arrival, he did not think it prudent, in conse-

quence of his small stock of money, to treat himself with a dinner. He therefore bought three pennyworth of bread, and receiving three large rolls, a far greater quantity than he expected, he made a satisfactory meal of one, and gave the remaining two to a poor woman and her children; his whole stock was now a single dollar. "Who would have dreamed," says Brissot de Warville, "that this poor wanderer would become one of the legislators of America, the ornament of the new world, the pride of modern philosophy."

Having worked for a short time with a printer at Philadelphia, he attracted Sir William Keith's notice; Sir William was then governor of the province of Pennsylvania, and wished to see a paper established; he therefore induced FRANKLIN to return to Boston and solicit pecuniary aid from his father, on the promise of great encouragement from the governor. The father, however, refused the required aid, on the ground that he was too young—only eighteen—to be entrusted with such a concern. In consequence of this refusal, Sir William said he would advance the sum that might be necessary, and our tyro should go to England and purchase the requisite materials, for which he would give him letters of credit.

To England, therefore, FRANKLIN went, though he had never obtained the promised letters, having been deluded by promises of their being sent on board the ship after him, and hoping, during the progress of the voyage, that they were in the governor's packet, and to receive them on its being opened. What were his feelings on finding himself in this just expectation cruelly deceived? The letters delivered to his keeping had no reference to him or his affairs; he was in London without money, friends, or credit, almost three years before the period of manhood. His freethinking ideas received a check when he remembered that Sir William had agreed with him on topics of religion: from the disgraceful abandonment of moral obligation which FRANKLIN experienced in him, and subsequently in other freethinkers, he began to doubt the soundness of the principles of those who lived without God in the world. The moral duties are very feebly performed, if not grossly violated, by those who acknowledge not the force of religious ties.

In London, where he arrived in 1725, he soon found employment at Palmer's printing-office. Whilst there, happening to be engaged on a new edition of Wollaston's "Religion of Nature," he wrote and printed a little metaphysical tract by way of answer, under the title of "A Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain." On reading this treatise, his master complimented him on his talents,

but condemned its principles as abominable. The pamphlet, however, procured him an introduction to Dr. Mandeville, who promised to present him to Sir Isaac Newton, but did not keep his word. Sir Hans Sloane, hearing that he had a purse made of asbestos, invited him to his house, exhibited his curiosities, and purchased the purse for a handsome sum.

Although guilty of some excesses while in London, he afterwards became a model of temperance and industry, and even reformed his brother printers by his example and exhortation.

While in London, he continued to devote his leisure hours to books and study, and in 1726, after a stay of eighteen months, he returned to America, with Mr. Denham, a merchant of Philadelphia, as his clerk, on a salary of £50 a year. On his arrival, he found that his old sweetheart, Miss Read, had been induced by her parents, in consequence of his neglect, which FRANKLIN justly regarded as one of the great errors of his life, to marry another man. Extraordinary circumstances, however, prevented that couple from ever living together; and, at a subsequent period, FRANKLIN married the lady, who proved an excellent and invaluable wife.

His truly worthy master, Mr. Denham, died in the course of the ensuing year, when FRANKLIN returned to his original business, first under Keimer his former master, then with a young man of the name of Meredith; they printed a newspaper, which was conducted with ability, and acquired for FRANKLIN some reputation; the project was very profitable, and afforded him an opportunity of distinguishing himself as a political writer. He also opened a shop for the sale of books and stationery.

In 1732, having had leisure for both reading and writing, he began to publish "Poor Richard's Almanac," which he continued with great success for many years. "The Way to Wealth," extracted from that publication, and consisting of numerous and valuable concise maxims, has been translated into various languages, and inserted in almost every newspaper and magazine in England and America.

About this period, FRANKLIN was one of a number of individuals who originated the Library Company of Philadelphia. The combination was at first small. FRANKLIN printed the first notices of the meetings of the directors, and circulated them himself; the payments were made very slowly, and some time elapsed before the organization of the company. The subject of our brief biography performed the duties of librarian for a short period, for which he received a salary. At a subsequent period, when the project was agitated of erecting the

present ornamental and substantial structure, for the books of the institution, Dr. FRANKLIN intimated that he should bequeath his own collection to the company as soon as a suitable building might be prepared. This intention was never fulfilled; he left only eighteen quarto volumes to them. The statue which graces the front of the library, was executed in Italy, by order and at the expense of William Bingham, Esq.; it is one of the few statues of marble in the country, and is justly admired, if not for its striking resemblance, at least as a work of art. It is probably owing to this figure, and the knowledge of the fact of his being one of the founders, that the institution has obtained the sobriquet of the Franklin Library.

When a new issue of paper money was made at Philadelphia, FRANKLIN displayed great ingenuity in sketching and engraving the border for the notes, and in conducting the letter-press; and when in want of new letter, as no letter-foundry then existed on the American continent, he used types as punches, and struck the matrices in lead. He also made his own printing-ink, and was frequently his own joiner. "Reading," says he, "was the only amusement I allowed myself. I spent no time in taverns, gaming, or frolics of any kind; and my industry in my business continued as indefatigable as it was necessary. My original habits of frugality continued, and my father having, among his instructions to me when a boy, frequently repeated a proverb of Solomon, 'Seest thou a man diligent in his calling, he shall stand before kings, he shall not stand before mean men;' I thence considered industry as a mean of obtaining distinction, which encouraged me; though I did not think I should ever literally stand before kings, which, however, has since happened, for I have stood before five, and even had the honor of sitting down with one (the king of Denmark) to dinner. We have an English proverb that says,

'He that would thrive,
Must ask his wife;'

It was lucky for me that I had one as much disposed to industry and frugality as myself. She assisted me cheerfully in my business, folding and stitching pamphlets, tending shop, purchasing old linen rags for the paper-makers, &c. We kept no idle servants, our table was plain and simple, our furniture of the cheapest. For instance, my breakfast was for a long time bread and milk, (no tea) and I ate it out of a two-penny porringer, with a pewter spoon; but mark how luxury will enter families, and make a progress in spite of principle: being called one morning to breakfast, I found it in a china bowl,

with a spoon of silver. They had been bought for me without my knowledge, by my wife, and had cost her the enormous sum of three and twenty shillings; for which she had no other excuse or apology to make, but that she thought *her* husband deserved a silver spoon and china bowl, as well as any of his neighbors. This was the first appearance of plate and china in our house, which afterwards, in a course of years, as our wealth increased, augmented gradually to several hundred pounds in value."

Such are a few of the interesting particulars communicated by this eminent man himself, for the benefit and amusement of his countrymen. His industry, frugality, activity, intelligence; his plan for bettering the condition of the province, for introducing improved systems of education; his municipal services, made him an object of attention to the whole population. He was consulted by the governor and council, on the most important occasions, and soon elected a member of the assembly.

At the age of twenty-seven, he undertook to learn Spanish, French, and Italian; and when he had nearly mastered them, he applied himself to Latin. He was prominent as a founder of the university of Pennsylvania, and of the American Philosophical Society, and was instrumental in the establishment of the Pennsylvania Hospital, though he has received more credit in that particular, than he is properly entitled to, as the records of that charity sufficiently show. We do not design to take from Dr. Franklin, any praise to which he is fairly entitled; fortunately for his fame, he does not require any adventitious aid to command our reverence, and that of all posterity.

Dr. Franklin started in 1741 the "General Magazine and Historical Chronicle," and invented in 1742, the Franklin stove; for this improvement on the old fashioned open fireplace, he refused a patent, on the ground that such inventions ought to be made universally subservient to the common good of mankind; an example which the citizens of this nation have been slow to follow. This stove, though still occasionally seen, is in turn superseded by later improvements, and the general introduction of anthracite. Being in Boston, in 1746, he witnessed some experiments in electricity; they were imperfectly performed, but were nevertheless the origin of one of the most brilliant discoveries in natural philosophy, which alone would have been fame enough to have established a claim to immortality.

Upon his return to Philadelphia, he repeated the same experiments with complete success, and adding others, of which some accounts had reached him from England, the science for a time wholly occu-

pied his ambition. He acquired by practice a dexterity in performing those experiments, and soon diffused his fame through the world, and drew upon his native country the regard and attention of all Europe. He was the first who fired gun-powder, gave magnetism to needles of steel, melted metals, and killed animals of considerable size, by means of electricity.

The various steps by which he acquired his knowledge of this science, are too well known to need repetition here. A relation of his experiments was communicated by FRANKLIN himself, in letters to a friend in London. "Nothing," says Priestley, "was ever written on the subject of electricity more justly admired, in all parts of Europe, than these letters. Electricians everywhere employed themselves in repeating his experiments, or exhibiting them for money. All the world in a manner, even kings themselves, flocked to see them, and all retired full of admiration for the invention of them." On the continent his discoveries were made public by the celebrated Buffon; the experiments were repeated by M. de Loz, before Louis XV., and were verified by many other philosophers. In Turin, by Father Beccaria; in Russia, by Professor Richmann, who, in the experiment of the kite, perished by a stroke of lightning.

The rights of the colonies had ever been a favorite subject, which he advocated both with his pen and in private, as our dearest prerogative. It was determined to hold a general congress at Albany; to this, FRANKLIN was named as deputy, and on the route, he digested a plan of union, regulating all the great political interests of the colonies and the mother country. His plan was adopted, congress proposing a general government for the provinces, to be administered by a president appointed by the crown, assisted by a grand council, to be chosen by the various provincial assemblies; the council was to have the power of laying taxes for the common exigencies. This *Albany plan*, as it was called, although unanimously sanctioned by congress, was rejected by the board of trade, as savoring too much of the democratic, and by the assemblies, as having too much of the influence of the mother country.

Appointed deputy post-master-general in 1751, he applied his mind to facilitating the intercourse between the different settled portions of the continent. In this he met with frequent difficulties incident to a new country, where the want of roads formed an almost insurmountable obstacle to the best laid schemes; but he persevered, and to him we are indebted for some suggestions which, having been acted on, have served to perfect the present admirable system of transportation,

which equalizes so rapidly the very distant points of our vast country. In his official capacity, he advanced large sums from his private funds to assist General Braddock, though he feared the result of his expedition, and had made some fruitless suggestions with regard to its conduct. When Braddock's defeat was ascertained, he introduced a bill for establishing a volunteer militia; he accepted a commission as a commander, and raised a corps of five hundred and sixty men, with whom he went through a laborious campaign, and was chosen colonel after his return, by the officers of a regiment.

The proprietaries of Pennsylvania claiming to be exempted from taxation, an unpleasant dispute arose, and Colonel FRANKLIN was deputed by the provincial assembly, in 1757, to visit England as their agent. He published soon after a large work, entitled the "Historical Review," which was much liked, and increased his reputation, both at home and abroad, and he received the additional appointment of agent for the provinces of Massachusetts, Maryland, and Georgia. The degree of doctor of laws was now conferred on him by the university of Oxford, as well as by those in Scotland, and the Royal Society elected him a fellow.

The personal connections which Dr. FRANKLIN formed during this residence in England, were of the most valuable and distinguished kind; he corresponded extensively with the most eminent individuals of the continent, and his letters to his friends and constituents must have occupied much of his time. A volume, edited by Dr. Jared Sparks, of his "Familiar Letters," assists us very greatly in forming an estimate of his private character, while the "Diplomatic Correspondence," published by the order of congress, proves how sincerely he loved his native country, and what care he took of her interests while residing in his official capacity at the court of France. These letters, added to his own memoirs and works, afford ample evidence, if any were wanting, of the striking union of a cultivated mind with a native and brilliant imagination.

He returned to America in 1762, and would have gladly rested himself in the bosom of domestic life, surrounded by his fellow citizens, who appreciated his talents and respected his patriotism; but in this he was destined to be disappointed. New difficulties arose between the province and the proprietaries, and FRANKLIN was again invested with the appointment of agent, in 1764. New and important events were on the eve of transpiring, and FRANKLIN appeared in England, no longer as simply a colonial agent, but as the representative of

America. Thirty-nine years had elapsed since his first landing on the British shore as a destitute and forlorn, nay, a deluded mechanic.

Great Britain had already announced the project of taxing her colonies, and Dr. FRANKLIN was the bearer of a remonstrance from the province of Pennsylvania against it, which he presented to Mr. Grenville before the passage of the justly odious stamp act. Throughout the existence of that measure, he opposed its operations in every possible mode, bending the energies of his prolific mind, to prove the unconstitutionality as well as the impolicy of casting a yoke on the shoulders of an indignant community who were likely to bear it with an ill grace.

His conduct on this occasion was highly praiseworthy. When the repeal was about to be attempted, it was concerted by his friends, that he should appear before the house of commons, and be examined on the whole question at issue. Here he displayed (February 3d, 1766,) so much firmness, readiness, and epigrammatic simplicity of manner, and information so much to the point on subjects of commerce, policy of government, finance, &c.; his precision of language was so remarkable, that the effect was irresistible, and the repeal inevitable.

Dr. FRANKLIN became still more bold and vehement in his expostulations, on the passage of the revenue acts of 1767. He then openly predicted to the English, that general resistance by the colonies, and a separation from the mother country, would be the inevitable result of those and other similar measures of the ministry. These were, however, madly pursued; FRANKLIN saw the coming storm with a clear vision and undaunted firmness; but he continued to adhere to his original plan, to make every effort to enlighten the public mind in England, to arrest the ministry in their infatuation, and to inculcate proper moderation and patience, as well as constancy and unanimity, on the part of his countrymen. He took every suitable means, at the same time, to keep on good terms with the British government, aware of the importance of such a standing to enable him to serve his country effectually; but he ceased not to proclaim the rights, justify the proceedings, and animate the courage of the suffering colonists. He was not ignorant, to use his own words, "that this course would render him suspected, in England of being too much an American, and in America, of being too much of an Englishman." This he braved in the conscious panoply of his own esteem, and continued to serve his country till circumstances, which we shall briefly hint at, induced him hastily to embark for home.

His transmission of the celebrated letters of Hutchinson and Oliver, in 1772, which had been placed in his hands, is matter of history, and not the least memorable of his acts at this opening period of the American revolution. His own share in the transaction was immediately avowed, though he could never be prevailed upon to divulge the names of the persons from whom he had received those documents. The Massachusetts assembly, indignant in consequence of these letters, petitioned the ministry, through Dr. FRANKLIN, when he was immediately held up as the mark for the virulent abuse, the hatred and ridicule of the periodical press, who would fain have extended the feeling to the whole nation. The spirit and wit with which he met the conflict, are particularly exemplified in his two satirical papers; "The Prussian Edict," and the "Rules for Reducing a Great Empire to a Small One."

When the petition was discussed before the privy council, FRANKLIN was present. Wedderburn, (afterwards Lord Loughborough,) the solicitor-general, assailed him in a very ungentlemanly and undignified manner, descending even to coarse invective. He styled the venerable philosopher, and official representative of four of the American provinces, a "thief and a murderer," who had "forfeited all the respect of society and of men." This impotent rage only tended still further to inflame the breasts of the petitioners, who now saw their agent dismissed from his place of deputy postmaster-general. A chancery suit was instituted in relation to the letters, with a view of preventing him from entering upon his own vindication.

Notwithstanding this treatment, the British ministry knew their man too well to leave any means in their power untried to remove the republican notions which had taken root in his bosom. Attempts were actually made, as the schism between the two countries widened, to corrupt the man they had discovered they had no power to intimidate; "any reward," "unlimited recompense," "honor and recompense beyond his expectations," were held up to him to induce a change of conduct. But they all proved unavailing, for he was as inaccessible to bribery as to threats. He was about this time directed to present the famous petition of the first American congress.

At the period when Lord Chatham proposed his plan for a reconciliation between the colonies and the parent country, Dr. FRANKLIN attended behind the bar, in the house of lords. While Chatham was using his powerful eloquence in favor of his plan of pacification, he eulogized FRANKLIN as "one whom Europe held in high estimation for his knowledge and wisdom; who was an honor, not to the Eng-

lish nation only, but to human nature." This, from such a speaker must be admitted as high praise.

He soon after was informed that it was the intention of ministers to arrest him, as guilty of fomenting a rebellious spirit in the colonies, and he immediately embarked for America, where he was enthusiastically received, and immediately elected a member of congress.

Dr. FRANKLIN served on many of the most arduous of the committees of that body, particularly as a member of the committee of safety, and of that of foreign correspondence, where he exerted all his influence in favor of the Declaration of Independence, of which instrument he was one of the signers.

Supplies from abroad becoming necessary to the infant republic, Dr. FRANKLIN was sent to France, in 1776, as commissioner plenipotentiary to that court, where he soon succeeded in gaining the confidence of the Count de Vergennes, though not at first publicly recognised. The reception of information that Burgoyne had surrendered, put a new aspect upon our affairs abroad, and our plenipotentiary had the happiness to conclude the first treaty of the new states, with a foreign power, on the 6th of February, 1778. The American was now in high favor at court, sought for in all circles of fashionable society, and extremely useful in forwarding the views of his government, furnishing supplies, and corresponding with the prominent leaders of the revolution.

While resident there, he produced a work entitled "Comparison of Great Britain and America, as to Credit," by the publication of which he did much to establish the credit of America, throughout Europe; it appeared in 1777. The treaty with France, and the capture of Burgoyne, created of course a great sensation in England, and no sooner were they known than the British ministry began to talk of a reconciliation. Efforts, plain and insidious, were made to sound FRANKLIN as to the terms that might probably, be obtained; his answer uniformly was, "nothing but independence." He had next to guard against the attempts made to separate France from our interests, and succeeded in defeating them. He was now one of the commissioners for negotiating the peace with the mother country.

These negotiations fairly closed, he earnestly requested, in 1782, to be recalled, stating his anxiety to be again in the bosom of his family; but this was refused. He continued in Paris, where his venerable age, his simplicity of manners, his scientific reputation, the ease, gaiety, and richness of his conversation—all contributed to render him an object of admiration to courtiers, ladies of high rank, and

savans. He regularly attended the meetings of the Academy of Sciences, and was appointed one of the committee which exposed Mesmer's animal magnetism.

During this period, Dr. FRANKLIN negotiated two treaties; one with Prussia, and one with Sweden.

On his return to Philadelphia, after having served his country fifty-three years, he filled the office of president of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and served as a delegate in the federal convention, in 1787, and approved the constitution then formed.

Dr. FRANKLIN died April 17, 1790, his faculties and affections unimpaired to the last, and lies buried in Christ Church burying-ground, at the corner of Arch and Fifth streets, Philadelphia, where a plain marble slab covers his remains and those of his wife, on which is inscribed simply,

BENJAMIN AND DEBORAH FRANKLIN,
1790.

A complete edition of his works was published in London, in 1806, in three volumes, octavo; and in Boston, a few years since, in ten volumes. His memoirs, and posthumous writings, were published by his grandson, William Temple Franklin, in 1819, in three volumes, quarto, and a later edition in Philadelphia, in nine volumes, octavo.

Dr. FRANKLIN was free from any deep religious bias; for some time he subscribed towards the support of a Presbyterian clergyman, in Philadelphia; but after attending him a few weeks, and finding that he was rather an indifferent preacher, and rarely inculcated a moral principle, he withdrew, and confined himself to the use of a small liturgy, or form of prayer, drawn up in 1728, entitled, "Articles of Belief, and Acts of Religion." "About the same time," he observes, "I conceived the bold and arduous project of arriving at *moral perfection;* I wished to live without committing any fault at any time, and to conquer all that either natural inclination, custom, or company, might lead me into. On the whole, though I never arrived at the perfection I had been so ambitious of obtaining, but fell far short of it, yet I was by the endeavor a better and happier man than I otherwise should have been, if I had not attempted it."

Blessed with an excellent constitution, aided by temperance, Dr. FRANKLIN enjoyed a long continuance of robust health. As he advanced in years, however, he became subject to fits of the gout, to which, in 1782, a nephritic colic was superadded. From that time, he was afflicted with the stone as well as the gout, and for the last

twelve months of his life, those complaints confined him almost entirely to his bed. Early in the spring of 1790, he was attacked by fever, and a complaint of his breast, which proved fatal, and his long and useful life was closed without a groan. He left one son, William, a zealous loyalist, and a daughter, married to Mr. Bache, a merchant of Philadelphia.

We have thus given the leading facts in the life of FRANKLIN. from his cradle to the grave. It is necessary to the proper completion of our pleasing task, to add a few remarks for the purpose of illustrating the character of so remarkable an individual. His early bias to literature was fostered in some measure by his father, who entertaining a high estimate for literary merit, applauded the industry, and excited the emulation of the son. In this he was standing in his own light, for it abstracted the youth from the pursuit of the trade by which the family lived, and induced him to disenthral himself from the fetters of so rude and inglorious an occupation. It, however, was a fortunate circumstance for the country. The business of a printer led him naturally amongst books, and his inquiring mind to the cultivation of letters; to promote this object, he early formed a literary club with a few ingenious young men about his own age, who conferred together on the subject of their studies, a practice which may be warmly recommended—many of our most eminent men trace to such associations the development of their minds.

Of FRANKLIN'S youthful levity on the subject of religion, it is necessary to remark, that when he had acquired a riper age, and more ample intelligence, he emphatically condemned it; but the extreme aversion, which, like many others of honest feelings, he entertained for that senseless dogmatism and mischievous intolerance which prevailed, both in Europe and America, led him sometimes to express sentiments on religious subjects, that by the severity of his age, were not always approved. He believed that honest men without any regard to religious denominations, were equally entitled to esteem. He insisted that in discussing the mysteries of our faith, much less time should be spent than in practising the duties which it enjoins; and indeed in all the business of his life, in morals and politics, as well as religion, he was much more an advocate for practice than speculation. But of the pure and sincere service of the Deity; of the general doctrines of Christianity, no man has ever spoken with more reverence; and with such a life as FRANKLIN generally led, we should, perhaps, offer an injury to religion in supposing him, as some have done, an enemy to its prevalence, or a stranger to its benign influence.

The resolution he took up in his twenty-first year, was one which might more frequently be adopted than we see it to be. He was then on his voyage from England, and employed himself in marking down its incidents in a journal. It struck him while thus amusing himself, that it was unbecoming the character of a man to whom heaven has imparted intelligence and reason, to fluctuate without a design through life; and he then resolved to form some plan for his future conduct, by which he might promote his fortune, and procure respect and reputation in society. This plan is prefaced by the following reflections. "Those who write of the art of poetry, teach us, that if we would write what would be worth the reading, we ought always before we begin, to form a regular design of our piece; otherwise we shall be in danger of incongruity. I am apt to think it is the same as to life. I have never fixed a regular design in life: by which means it has been a confused variety of different scenes. I am now entering upon a new one; let me, therefore, make some resolutions, and form some schemes of action, that henceforth, I may live in all respects like a rational creature."

To these remarks, he attached a set of rules and moral principles, which, while they show his noble ardor for virtue, may afford those animated with the same spirit, no unprofitable example. They are partly as follow:—

"I resolve to be extremely frugal, for some time, until I pay what I owe.

"To speak the truth in every instance, and give no one expectations that are not likely to be answered; but aim at sincerity in every word and action, the most amiable excellence in a rational being.

"To apply myself industriously in whatever business I take in hand, and not divert my mind by any foolish project of growing suddenly rich; for industry and patience are the surest means of plenty.

"I resolve to speak ill of no man whatever, not even in a matter of truth; but rather by some means excuse the faults I hear charged upon others, and upon proper occasions speak all the good I know of every body," &c.

To these resolutions, though formed in the ardor of youthful imagination, he adhered with a scrupulous fidelity.

Soon after his return to Philadelphia, he instituted a friendly club, in connection with several young men of respectable character and abilities, denominated "The Junto," of which he has spoken in his memoirs with great affection. Subjects of a scientific, moral, or political cast, were discussed at their meetings. The association endured

with undiminished vigor, for thirty years, and was at last succeeded by the present Philosophical Society.

It is a just remark, that the exigencies in which FRANKLIN had passed his early youth, and the expedients he was forced to adopt, that he might improve his fortune, drew him from all barren speculations towards those only which might tend to ameliorate the condition and happiness of his species. All his leading enterprises appear to have been undertaken with an eye to the public good, and even to minor affairs he gave the same tendency. To practice virtue, and disseminate it among mankind, he considered his duty wherever he went, and he allowed no common distraction of life to turn him from his laudable purpose. Like Lycurgus, he wished that the praise of virtue and contempt for vice should be interwoven with all the actions of men, and that excellent objects and actions should be perpetually before the gaze of the multitude. He carried this so far, as even to assist in making the common devices on coins, which are so constantly under our inspection, of a character to convey a prudential maxim; thus the old penny he caused to be impressed with the word "Fugio"—I fly; and on the reverse, "mind your own business."

His Poor Richard's Almanac he made the vehicle of conveying moral apothegms, precepts of economy, rules for the preservation of health, and such general principles of instruction as were most adapted to the purposes of common life. Of this Almanac ten thousand copies were circulated in America every year; this, considering the then limited population, sufficiently exhibits the estimation in which it was held. The last, 1757, in which he collected the principal matter of the preceding numbers, was republished in various forms in Great Britain, and thence translated into foreign languages, was dispersed and read with great avidity throughout the whole continent. An edition in folio was some years since published in Paris in the highest style of typographical art, under the title of "Le Bon Homme Richard."

His efforts to diffuse literature, form libraries, &c., were the means of disseminating a taste for polite letters; reading became everywhere the fashionable amusement, spreading its influence even to the humble walks of life. This, in a republican state, is an object of importance, where some equality in the diffusion of intellectual, as well as physical benefits, is essential to the purity and permanence of political institutions.

His discoveries in electricity have been already noticed. It cannot be expected that we should here enumerate all the experiments he made, or the treatises he composed on the various branches of science;

for there is scarcely one that did not occupy some portion of his time and attention. He made use of oil to show its effects in stilling the waters of the ocean; he endeavored to ascertain whether boats are not drawn with more difficulty in small canals, than in large bodies of water; to improve the art of swimming, and to prove that thirst may be allayed by bathing in salt water. He made observations, also, in his several voyages, on the gradual progress of the north-east storms along the American coast, contrary to the direction of the winds; and likewise, for the benefit of navigation, made experiments on the course, velocity, and temperature of the gulf stream. He made also curious observations on the air; upon the relative powers of metals in the conducting of heat, and of the different degrees acquired by congenial bodies of various colors, from the rays of the sun. He composed likewise an ingenious treatise upon the formation of the earth, and the existence of an universal fluid; music, too, came in for a share of his grasping mind, and he cultivated that science with success. He revived and improved the harmonica, performing upon that instrument with taste.

It was a peculiarity which gave FRANKLIN a great advantage from his early youth, to have mingled business with study and speculation. He thus acquired theoretical and practical knowledge together, and was skilful in applying his information. Lord Kaimes was highly gratified to become his correspondent, from the delight he took in him as a philosopher; their friendship, formed in Europe, subsisted until the termination of their lives.

It is probable that in the first outbreak of difficulties with the mother country, FRANKLIN entertained no farther design than that of vindicating the constitutional liberties of his country, and that no ambition for her independence had at this time entered his imagination; he continued to still the angry passions which had been kindled by the operation of bad or over-bearing laws, till they were insupportable. He still kept up discussions with the parliament, and maintained some appearance of impartiality; but by the introduction of British troops into Boston, and the tumults and massacres occasioned by that measure; by all the proceedings, indeed, of the government subsequent to the repeal of the stamp act, he knew well that passions were inflamed too fierce and vengeful to be appeased by the application of gentle remedies. He observed, also, not only in the minds of those who were entrusted with the supreme management of affairs in England, but throughout the whole nation, that there prevailed a spirit of arrogance and contempt for Americans, or in the phraseology of the times, "the rebels

of the colonies," which must have confirmed his opinions on that subject. Though he still recommended, in all his letters to the colonies, a moderation and decorum, that the ministry might have no pretext that might justify a more open violation of their liberties; there is, nevertheless, a strain of vehemence in all his writings of this period, which indicate that he was himself not less exasperated than his ardent countrymen at home.

During his long residence in England, he had been treated with all the rancor and malice, the resentful and unmanly arrogance, which power usually produces in ignoble minds. The worthy portion of the community, however, approved his various merits, and he has expressed in his letters, his gratification at the marks of attachment, friendship, generosity, and affectionate attention which he received.

On his voyage homewards, he had employed himself in philosophical speculations, and in writing a circumstantial detail of the whole of his public operations during his absence; this constitutes a very interesting portion of his biography published by his grandson, furnishing many conspicuous examples of his devotion to liberty, of his spirit and patriotism; and affords a specimen of those diplomatic talents which proved so beneficial to his country.

When appointed in 1776, with John Adams and Edward Rutledge, to hear certain propositions of English commissioners who had arrived on our coast to propose terms of accommodation, or rather "offer pardon upon submission," to congress, Lord Howe, the chief of the embassy, endeavored to wheedle him by kind words into using his influence in promoting the great object of "the king's paternal solicitude." His reply was highly honorable to his patriotism and abilities; he insisted that directing pardons to be offered to the colonies, who were the parties injured, expressed "that opinion of our baseness, ignorance, and insensibility, which your uninformed and proud nation has long been pleased to entertain of us; but it can have no other effect than that of increasing our resentments." He continues in a noble strain of independent sentiment, and concludes, "when you find reconciliation impossible on any terms given you to propose, I believe you will then relinquish so odious a command, and return to a more honorable private station."

When Dr. Franklin left America for France, he placed the whole of his possessions in money, between three and four thousand pounds, in the hands of congress, thus testifying his confidence in the success of their cause, and inducing others of greater means to imitate so laudable an example.

His colleagues, Mr. Adams, Mr. Jay, and Mr. Laurens, assisted materially to lighten his labors; advantages were gained by their joint exertions very far beyond what either in France or America had been anticipated; and if we may judge from the tenor of FRANKLIN's letters, far beyond his own expectation. "Had it not been," says he, "for the justice of our cause, and the consequent interposition of Providence, in which we had faith, we must have been ruined. If I had ever before been an atheist, I should now have been convinced of the being and government of a Deity. It is he that abases the proud and elevates the humble; may we never forget his goodness, and may our future conduct manifest our gratitude."

In his treaties with Sweden and Prussia, Dr. FRANKLIN introduced an article highly honorable to his memory, and one which he had attempted in vain to add to his negotiations with Great Britain; it was the prohibiting from injuries of war, the property and persons of unarmed individuals. This principle has been acknowledged to a greater or less degree since by civilized nations, and may be dated in a measure to the influence of the subject of our biography.

A defensive war Dr. FRANKLIN thought justifiable, but he preferred peace whenever it could be obtained, provided it was honorable; nor was he without a hope that the interests of nations might prevail over the perversity of human nature, so far as to produce some alleviation of the calamities insuperably attendant upon warfare. "I hope," he says in one of his letters, "that mankind will at length, as they call themselves reasonable creatures, have reason and sense enough to settle their differences without cutting throats; for in my opinion, there never was a good war, nor a bad peace. What vast additions to the convenience and comforts of living might we acquire, if the money spent in wars had been employed in works of public utility; what an extension of agriculture, even to tops of the mountains!" "When," says he to Dr. Priestley, "shall we make that discovery in moral philosophy, which will instruct men to compose their quarrels without bloodshed? When will men cease to be wolves to one another, and learn, that even successful wars at length become misfortunes to those who urgently commence them?"

On Dr. FRANKLIN's return from France, he was attended at his landing by the members of congress, of the university, and by the principal citizens, who, formed into processions, went out to escort him; amidst their acclamations he was conducted to his dwelling. He received from public assemblies of every description, the most affectionate addresses; all testifying their gratitude for his services,

and joy at his safe return. General Washington, in a public letter, greeted his arrival with the same grateful sentiments, and he says himself, "I am surrounded by friends, and have an affectionate good daughter and son-in-law to take care of me. I have got into my *niche*, a very good house, which I built twenty-four years ago, and out of which I have been ever since kept by foreign employments."

He continued in his retirement to ponder deeply on the condition of man, and to seek by every means in his power to promote the interest of his fellow creatures. Several of his writings at this period, and later, when entirely disabled from going abroad by his infirmities, are evidence of this fact. Many societies, the philosophical, of which he was president, that for political inquiries, for alleviating the miseries of public prisons, and for promoting the abolition of slavery, held their meetings at his house, to enjoy the benefit of his council.

When his death was known, congress ordered a general mourning for him throughout America, of one month. In France, the expression of public grief was highly flattering to his memory; there the event was solemnized under the direction of the municipality of Paris, by funeral orations; the national assembly decreed that each of the members should wear mourning for three days, "in commemoration of the event," and that a letter of condolence for the irreparable loss they had sustained, should be directed to the American congress. These were honors truly glorious, and such as were never before paid by any public body of one nation to a citizen of another.

In stature, FRANKLIN was above the middle size; manly, athletic, and gracefully proportioned. His countenance had an air of serenity and peace; the natural effect of conscious integrity. The harmony of the features is remarkable; seeming to be formed to excite love and veneration, command authority, or conciliate esteem. His mind was stored with knowledge, which he had a very happy manner of imparting, enlivening his conversation by ingenious illustrations, sprightly thoughts or pleasantry, winning even the morose. Amidst all the pageantry of European courts, where a large portion of his life was passed, as well as in the intercourse he kept up with the most fashionable society, he retained his republican dress and the simplicity of his manners, never showing any mean pride in concealing the humility of his birth.

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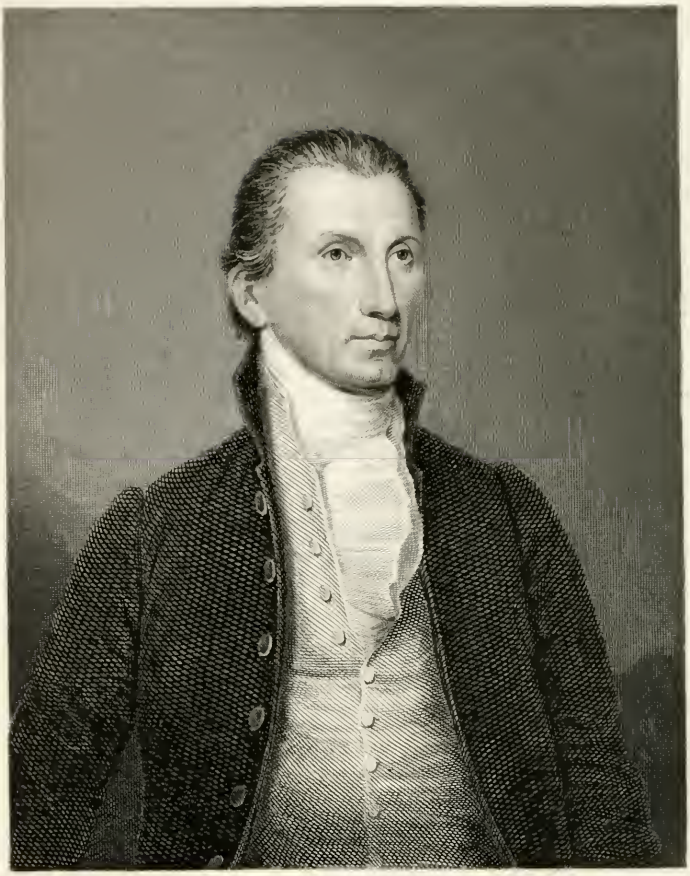

Engd by A.B.Durand from the Painting by J. Vanderlyn in the City Hall New York

JAMES MONROE

James Monroe

JAMES MONROE.

The history of republics furnishes us with but few instances of men, however distinguished for talents, continuing from youth to old age as successful politicians. Pericles, who governed Athens in the days of her glory for nearly forty years, is an exception which only proves the rule; for he stands alone in the annals of Greece. Others, of equal fame, have felt the chances and changes of a free government. Miltiades, who had saved his country by his consummate military prowess, in fighting the battle of Marathon, experienced the ingratitude of a republic, and died in prison. Æschylus, the father of tragic writers, and the great improver of the scenic art, after having distinguished himself as a warrior at Marathon, Platæa, and Salamis, was charged with impiety in his writings, because he was too sublime for the comprehension of the mass of the people, and was sentenced to death by those whom he had instructed and defended. He was pardoned by means of a brother's eloquence, but retired in disgust from an ungrateful people. Aristides the Just was exiled by the ostracism for many years, through the machinations of his political opponents: the perpetual agitations of a republic carry one up on the flood who is often in turn swept down as the tide recedes. This has too often been the case in this great republic of ours: we have seen statesmen give way to mere politicians, and patriots to demagogues; but to the honor of "the ancient dominion" it must be acknowledged, that she has been less subject to change and caprice, than any of her sister states. She has in most instances been true to her men of talents, and found her reward in the influence they have acquired in the councils of the nation, and sustained in every change of policy. Among her sons whom she has delighted to honor, and who have reaped the reward of her constancy, is James Monroe. For more than half a century, he was daily before the public, and in that period has filled more important offices than any other man in the United States.

James Monroe was born in Westmoreland county, Virginia, on the

28th of April, 1758. His ancestors came to this country among the early settlers, and he was born on the *paternal acres* first meted out to them. He was educated at William and Mary college, and was graduated in 1776. On leaving college, he took the law for a profession; but before he had read Coke upon Lyttleton, the military spirit, then firing the breasts of all our distinguished young men, created a fever in his veins, and he entered as a cadet in a corps then organizing under the gallant General Mercer, of Virginia. He was soon after appointed a lieutenant, and joined the army at New York. The campaign of 1776 was disastrous in the extreme. In four months after the declaration of independence, the Americans had been beaten in seven battles, and dismay and despair hung around them. Lieutenant Monroe took a part in the engagements at Harlaem heights, and at White Plains, and was with the army in their distressing retreat through the Jerseys. He was with Washington when the general crossed the Delaware, and made the successful attack on the Hessians at Trenton, on the morning of the 26th of December, 1776, which masterly movement saved the country. It was one of doubtful issue; and Washington had prepared to return to the interior of Pennsylvania, if unsuccessful. This blow was unexpected to the British; until this moment they considered the country as virtually conquered, and their fighting at an end. The victory of Trenton was followed by that of Princeton, and the hopes of the nation began to revive, although thousands of the Americans were then in prison-ships and dungeons, treated with the greatest cruelty, to intimidate them to subjection;—but from their ashes was lighted up the unquenchable fire of indignation and revenge. In the battle of Trenton, Lieutenant Monroe was wounded in the shoulder, fighting gallantly in the van of the army. He was at once promoted to a captaincy. On recovering from his wounds, he was invited to act as aid to Lord Sterling, and served with him two campaigns, in which he saw much service, having been in the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth. Not thinking the staff the proper place for promotion for one who sought glory in arms, he was desirous of obtaining the command of a regiment; for this purpose he repaired to his native state, with strong recommendations from the commander-in-chief, and applied to the legislature for leave to raise a regiment of which he was to have the command. From the exhausted state of Virginia, he failed of raising his corps, and did not return to the army, but entered the office of Mr. Jefferson, as a student at law. With Mr. Jefferson, Major Monroe found an extensive

library, and in him had a sage adviser. International law was then closely studied; for the young and the old made themselves masters of this subject, as well as the rights of men in every civil community, that in every situation they might be able to vindicate the cause they were pursuing. At this time there was no practice at the bar; and of course his time was not frittered away by painful attention to the drudgery of smaller business, so common in offices at the present day.

In 1780, Mr. Jefferson, being governor of Virginia, sent Mr. Monroe as a commissioner to the southern army, under De Kalb, to ascertain its effective force, its wants, and ulterior prospects.

In 1782, Mr. Monroe was elected a member of the legislature of Virginia, and the next year, after serving in the executive council, was sent to the continental congress, when only twenty-four years old. In this body he proved himself a business man; and for three years labored indefatigably in the arduous duties of this station. While in congress, he saw that the independence of the country was barely achieved, not secured, if the loose way they had of raising a revenue was still continued, for it was quite optional with each state, to what degree and when they would collect their proportions of the means necessary to support the government; and he introduced resolutions to invest congress with the power to regulate trade with all the states, which was probably the germ of our present constitution.

After leaving congress, he was again in the legislature of his native state, taking a very active part in the deliberations of that body, which was engaged in a revision of their laws, which required, like those of other commonwealths, a conformity to the state of the times. His good sense was brought to bear on these subjects, as was evinced by the share he took in the work of enlarging and revising the statute-book. He was in 1788 a member of the convention to decide on the adoption of the constitution of the United States, at that time offered for the consideration of the people. In this convention, Mr. Monroe differed from his colleagues and friends, James Madison, John Marshall, and others, through most of the preliminary steps, and in the final question, was found in the minority in his vote against that instrument he was so many years called to see carried into execution.

From 1790 to 1794, he was a member of the senate of the United States, and was taken from that body to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary from this country to France. In this office, he was not popular with those in power; they thought him too enthusiastically engaged in the feelings of revolutionary France, to do

justice to his own country, and Washington recalled him in 1796. Mr. Monroe, on his return to his native country, published a justification of his conduct while abroad; but the pamphlet settled nothing; it justified both parties in the views which they had taken. The general having no more duties for him to perform, at this time, he was elected governor of Virginia, and served the constitutional term of three years, a proof that his native state was with him in sentiment. Mr. Jefferson, after Mr. Adams had retired from office, came into power. He had been a constant friend to Colonel Monroe, and appointed him, in 1803, envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to France, to act with Mr. Livingston, the minister resident there. Mr. Livingston had commenced the negotiation for the purchase of Louisiana, and had made no small progress in the business, when his coadjutor arrived in France, with full power to join in the important negotiation. The honor of effecting this admirable treaty is claimed by the friends of each, but the following letter from Mr. Livingston will throw much light on the subject, and proves that it was a joint labor.

Paris, 10th *April*, 1803.

Dear Sir,

I congratulate you on your safe arrival. We have long and anxiously wished for you. God grant that your mission may answer yours, and the public expectation. War may do something for us; nothing else would. I have paved the way for you; and if you could add to my memoirs an assurance that we were now in possession of New Orleans, we should do well; but I detain Mr. Bentalon, who is impatient to fly to the arms of his wife. I have apprized the minister of your arrival, and told him you would be here on Tuesday or Wednesday. Present my compliments and Mrs. Livingston's to Mrs. Monroe, and believe me, dear sir,

Your friend, and humble servant,

Robert R. Livingston.

To his Excellency James Monroe.

The difficulties which Mr. Livingston found in his way, were removed, and the treaty of cession soon after signed. This, by whom originated or by what influence carried into effect, will forever stand in our state papers as one of the most fortunate pieces of diplomacy, among the many we owe our sagacious ministers. It saved much ill-will and bloodshed, and was an excellent bargain as a monied speculation. It was, indeed, fortunate for the United States, and vastly

more so to Louisiana than for the purchasers. "The house of representatives of that state expressed, after an experience of more than twenty years, by an unanimous resolution, its veneration for Mr. Monroe, and its gratitude for the part he had taken in the proceedings that united Louisiana to the American confederacy."

After seeing that the great business of the treaty ceding Louisiana to the United States was accomplished, Mr. Monroe went to London as a successor to Mr. King, who had requested to be recalled. From England Mr. Monroe was ordered to Spain, which country he visited by the way of France: the direct road to Spain for a diplomatist, at that time, was through Paris. From Spain Mr. Monroe returned to England, after the death of Mr. Pitt, to negotiate with Mr. Fox, his successor. Some portion of our countrymen conceived it a good opportunity for an adjustment of our difficulties with England; but Mr. Fox died too soon after his predecessor, to give our diplomatist an opportunity to try the temper and disposition of the radical minister of England towards this country. In all probability we should not have gained much from Mr. Fox; for of all ministers we have had to deal with, as premiers for ages, Mr. Canning, supposed in his day to be the most liberal, was the most bitter and unjust towards this republic. Previous to the death of Mr. Pitt, the American envoys, Messrs. Monroe and Pinckney, in connection with Lords Holland and Auckland, had made a treaty between the two countries, which Mr. Jefferson refused to present to the senate of the United States for their consideration and advice, as it contained many objectionable articles.

The attack upon the frigate Chesapeake placed the two governments, already irritated, in a hostile attitude, quite inconsistent with the residence of an American minister at St. James's, and Mr. Monroe returned to this country. For a year or two, Mr. Monroe spent his time in literary leisure, or at least free from political pursuits, on his plantation in Virginia; but in the year 1810 he again resumed the duties of a politician, being elected to the legislature of Virginia. But he was elected governor of the commonwealth in a few months, and continued to discharge the duties of his office, until he was appointed secretary of state under Mr. Madison. Mr. Monroe was in this office when the war against Great Britain was declared, in 1812. He was in the discharge of his duties, when the secretary of war found it necessary to repair to the frontiers, to correct the errors supposed to exist in the army. Mr. Monroe took the war department under his special care, and remained in it until all things went on smoothly. He took a deep interest in the conflict, and was the most efficient and

active man in the cause. The president found Mr. Monroe his armor-bearer in the contest, whether he was in the office of secretary of state or war. He had decidedly the most business talent of the cabinet.

In 1817, when all was calm again, he was elected president of the United States by a large majority. During the first term of his administration, the country was so busy in repairing their losses, that almost every thing like party was forgotten; and on his second election, in 1821, he had the votes of all the electoral colleges, except one, which was given in New Hampshire, for John Q. Adams. He made, on his first coming into office, a very judicious selection of cabinet ministers, and lived with them in great harmony. He gave new energy to the army and navy, and found something for our ships of war to do, in protecting our commerce in distant seas. The able and bold secretary of war, John C. Calhoun, commenced, under the sanction of the president, the building a line of fortifications on our seaboard, which was wanted for our defence.

In the administration of Mr. Monroe, the Floridas were ceded to the United States by Spain, as an indemnity for spoliations on American commerce. This was a good bargain for both parties. Spain was exhausted in her finances, and Florida was only a bill of expense to her. The Spanish nation had not aught to say against the transfer, for the lands belonging to individuals in the Floridas became greatly enhanced in value, by coming within the jurisdiction of the United States. After his second election as president, Mr. Monroe made a journey through the northern and eastern states, and was cordially received in every part of the country, all parties joining to receive him as the head of our nation. Nearly all the objects of charity he saw, were some of his old companions in arms; they had never recovered from the shock which the revolution had given them, both as to fortune and habits. Among the many who went to pay their respects to him, was an old man broken in health and fortune by the vicissitudes of life, who was once a gallant officer, in whom were united the scholar, the merchant, seaman, and skilful engineer. He had commanded a regiment and seen much service. He had been wealthy as a merchant, but entered into the tobacco trade soon after the peace, and became a bankrupt, and was at the time of his visit to the president chiefly supported by the liberality of a marine society, of which he had been a founder and most munificent benefactor. He conversed with Colonel Monroe, with whom he had been intimate, with the freedom of an old friend and without a murmur at fortune. The

president saw, by the scantiness of his wardrobe, the poverty which had overtaken him; and on his retiring, spoke with great warmth of the neglect of the country, towards those who had spent their substance and shed their blood for our independence; for he knew that Colonel W——— had lavished large sums in clothing and arming his regiment. If Mr. Monroe had the pension law in view previous to this period, this interview with his old friend quickened his zeal, and secured something to sustain the last days of the heroes of the revolution. Before provision was made for their support, many of them had gone where honors or pensions cannot reach; but still many remained to be gladdened by the rills of public justice, which were caused to flow among those "in the sere and yellow leaf of life." As the president journeyed through New Hampshire, he made Hanover, on Connecticut river, a resting-place for the night. While in that place, he visited Mrs. Wheelock, relict of President Wheelock of Dartmouth college, and in this lady found the once sprightly maiden, who had prepared with her own fair hands the bandage for the surgeon, who had dressed in her father's house the wounded Lieutenant Monroe, on the morning of the battle of Trenton. The grave statesman and year-stricken dame gazed on each other for a moment, reflecting upon the changes time had made on them; but instantly turned their thoughts from this subject, and commenced a conversation upon the incidents of the memorable day when their acquaintance began. The incidents of the battle, and those which followed the capture of the Hessians, were all fresh in the minds of both, and they seemed to grow younger from the glow which these recollections excited.

The South American states which had long been struggling with Spanish and Portuguese despotism, had now in dreadful convulsions burst asunder the chains which had bound them for ages, and in the agony of revolutionary conflict, stretched out their hands to the liberal nations of the earth for countenance and succor. In the very "lurid morn" of their national existence, before they had assumed any permanent shape, the government of the United States, that had hailed their struggle with joy, and carefully examined their cause, acknowledged their independence openly and boldly in the face of the world; and when it was apprehended, that the great powers of Europe were about to interfere with the internal concerns of the new states of South America, President Monroe, in a message to congress, declared to the world, that the United States could not, in honor to herself, be a quiet spectator of the scene. This declaration was made without a particle

of assumption or arrogance, and proved to have been well-timed and effective; for we heard no more of the interference of the holy alliance in the affairs of the infant republics. This was the first great proof our country had ever given of weight in the balance of national power.

After Mr. Monroe had retired from office, he was engaged with his distinguished predecessors in the presidential chair, Messrs. Jefferson and Madison, in establishing the university of Virginia, and in forming a constitution and rules for its government. This was no easy task; for in avoiding monkish rules and the hoary errors of ancient seats of learning, there was great danger of falling into the other extreme of laxity in discipline, and free thinking in studies. These scholars and philosophers did not believe that they were so wise, but that experience might be a better test than their own judgments, and left room for revision in their code of laws, which has been judiciously used. The university has taken a high rank among the literary and scientific institutions in the United States. The next situation in which we find the ex-president Monroe, is as president of the Virginia convention called to amend the constitution of his native state. This was an arduous task. The rules and orders of a deliberate body have grown up into a science within these last fifty years; and it requires a clear mind to comprehend all their niceties, and some degree of energy strictly to enforce them. Those who attended this convention, speak of his dignity and precision as presiding officer, and bear witness that he was in the full possession of his faculties.

To show the simplicity of our republican form of government, Mr. Monroe acted as a magistrate in the county of Loudon, where he resided, and was as attentive and as assiduous in the discharge of his duties as he had been in the highest office he was ever called to fill.

From Virginia he went to reside in the city of New York, to be with an affectionate daughter who had married in the city, and who was anxious for her father's health. He seldom appeared abroad after his removal to that city; but when he did, he was treated with profound respect by all classes of citizens.

On the 4th of July, 1831, the anniversary of American independence, just five years after his illustrious predecessors, Adams and Jefferson, had quitted the scenes of their labors, he expired as the peals of joy broke upon the light of day, and the city exhibited its crowded population rushing to partake of the national festival. He died well;

for he nad already passed the ordinary boundary of human life, being over seventy-three years old. He had no complaints to make of his country; for she had listened to his claims of extraordinary expenditure, and paid them without any mortifying scrutiny. The citizens of New York, under the direction of their municipal authorities, gave him a splendid funeral; coffin, hearse and pall would have done honor to Cæsar's obsequies, and the eloquent and learned head of Columbia college pronounced his eulogy.

The half century in which Mr. Monroe was an actor on the great stage of public life, was most eventful in the history of nations. The great fountain of human knowledge had been opened in Europe; and our countrymen had drank deeply of the waters, and their eyes were opened. The fulness of time for some great event had come; although the political seers could not exactly, by their auguries, tell what it would be. The American revolution was not a matter of accident, "but the sound result of sober inquiry and deliberation." The spirit of intelligence had for a long time been working upon the feelings of a high-minded people, and leading them by its holy influences to self-government. Our seminaries of learning were full of liberal views, as in fact most literary and scientific institutions in every age and nation have been; and the professions were so many channels through which it flowed to the people at large.

Mr. Monroe began his public career as a soldier, which was of great service to him in every subsequent stage in his eventful life. Intrepidity and decision are indispensable requisites for a soldier, and these traits become equally necessary in the moral bravery of a statesman. The effects of this military education in early life has been noticed in the characters of some of our most energetic politicians, as every reader may call to mind, in looking over the names of many distinguished men, from Washington down to subalterns of the revolutionary army.

Mr. Monroe had a sound constitution, and a well-balanced mind. He made his calculations with deliberation, and his political movements were generally successful; if not at first, his perseverance eventually secured success. Mr. Monroe will not want for biographers; for he was so intimately connected, from his youth upwards, with the progress of events in our history, that something relating to him must appear in almost every page of our annals.

The imperturbable serenity which he possessed at all times, was an excellent ingredient in the composition of a diplomatist, and was often of service to the executive officer. In making up his mind on

any subject, he was never dazzled by the brilliant coloring of his own imagination, nor led astray by any tormenting passion. His political ambition was constantly gratified, and he had no avarice to lead him from the plain path of duty.

The eulogy pronounced by the Hon. J. Q. Adams on the death of Mr. Monroe, supplies a passage which may very properly close this sketch:—"In the multitude of a great nation's public affairs, there is no official act of their Chief Magistrate, however momentous, or however minute, but should be traceable to a dictate of duty, pointing to the welfare of the people. Such was the cardinal principle of Mr. Monroe. In his first address, upon his election to the presidency, he had exposed the general principles by which his conduct, in the discharge of his great trust, would be regulated. In his second Inaugural Address, he succinctly reviewed that portion of the career through which he had passed, fortunately sanctioned by public approbation; and promised perseverance in it, to the close of his public service. And in his last annual message to Congress, on the 7th of December, 1824, announcing his retirement from public life, after the close of that session of the legislature, he reviewed the whole course of his administration, comparing it with the pledges he had given at its commencement, and its middle term, appealing to the judgment and consciences of those whom he addressed, for its unity of principle as one consistent whole; not exempt, indeed, from the errors and infirmities incident to all human action, but characteristic of purposes always honest and sincere, of intentions always pure, of labors outlasting the daily circuit of the sun, and outwatching the vigils of the night,—and what he said not, but a faithful witness is bound to record,—of a mind anxious and unwearied in the pursuit of truth and right; patient of enquiry; patient of contradiction; courteous, even in the collision of sentiment; sound in its ultimate judgments; and firm in its final conclusions. Such, fellow citizens, was James Monroe. Such was the man, whose public life commenced with the war of independence, and is identified with all the important events of your history from that day forth for a full half century."

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Engraved by Th[illegible] from a Painting by J. Copley in Faneuil Hall.

JOSEPH WARREN.

Jos. Warren

JOSEPH WARREN.

To have been the most distinguished man slain in the battle of Bunker hill, "whose glorious name might turn a coward brave," is sufficient to secure an immortality of fame to the name of Joseph Warren.

"Brief, brave, and glorious was his young career,"

and although the time and circumstances of his death present the most prominent point of observation, yet, the active part he took in the preliminary events, and the zeal and ability of his previous services in rousing the energies of his countrymen to resist oppression are interwoven with the history of his time, and entitle him to a place among the first of American patriots.

Joseph Warren was born at Roxbury, near Boston, in the year 1741. At the age of fourteen he entered Harvard university, where he bore a high character for talents, perseverance, and correct deportment, as well as for a generous, courageous, and independent spirit. He graduated in 1759, and under the direction of Dr. Lloyd, an eminent physician of that day, he pursued the study of medicine. He commenced the practice of his profession in Boston, and very soon acquired a high reputation for skill and humanity, which, added to the favorable influence of a handsome person and courteous address, gave the promise of a brilliant professional career with the usual reward of industry and talent—influence and wealth. But "with all the endowments and accomplishments which make refined life desirable," and all the opportunities of gratifying professional ambition, no private interest, no love of ease, nor fear of consequences, could balance his sense of public duty. The passage of the celebrated stamp act first turned his attention to political subjects, and he entered upon a serious examination of the great question which then agitated the country. Occupied through the day by professional duties, he gave his nights to the investigation of the rights of the British parliament, and of the chartered rights of the colonies. Having thus formed his opinions by study and reflection, he delibe-

rately took his stand on the side of his country, and with his constitutional ardor devoted himself to the common cause. His private interests suffered by neglect, and his pecuniary affairs became embarrassed; but young, and zealous in the performance of a paramount obligation, self was forgotten, and he labored to convince others, as he had satisfied himself, by reason and argument.

In 1768 Dr. WARREN addressed a letter to Governor Bernard, which was complained of as a libel, and an attempt was made to silence the author by an indictment, but the grand jury refused to find a bill. From this time forward his pen was restless, and his exertions unwearied, and as he enjoyed the affections and confidence of all classes, his influence was extensive.

Private meetings were held by him and other leaders of the opposition, which were attended by many persons in public offices, respectable mechanics, and others in the middle classes of society: in these meetings the most important matters were decided and afterwards carried into effect, while the hand of the master remained unseen.

But it was not by these means only that Dr. WARREN retained his influence over the spirits he had raised; he often found it necessary to restrain the impatient zeal of his friends, and held their confidence by his prudence and circumspection, as he had gained it by his intelligence and resolution.

In public, and especially in the face of the agents of the crown, he was bold and daring. One memorable instance of this occurred in 1775. He had delivered in 1772 the annual oration in commemoration of the massacre of the 5th of March, 1770, and when the time arrived for the appointment of an orator for 1775, he solicited the honor on that occasion in consequence of a threat uttered by some of the British officers, that they would take the life of any man who should dare to speak of the massacre on that anniversary.

Dr. WARREN was appointed, the day arrived, the Old South meeting-house was filled to overflowing; the aisles, the stairs, and even the pulpit, were occupied by British officers; the orator made his entrance by a ladder at the pulpit window; and cool, collected, and intrepid, he advanced into the midst of them and addressed the audience.

One of the British officers upon the pulpit stairs, in the mean time amused himself significantly by playing with a couple of musket balls, which he occasionally threw up and caught in his hand. "A solemn silence pervaded the whole assembly. The speaker seemed

absorbed by his subject, and indifferent to every thing but his theme. It was momentarily expected that some interruption would take place. In a few minutes a drum was heard. Was it the signal for another outrage? It approached, and its sound broke the attention of the audience. With a countenance displaying the indignant feelings which the subject excited, his arm outstretched in an attitude of dignity, the orator paused till the noise should subside, and leave him at liberty to be heard again by the people. There was a slight movement round the house, the effect of intense interest; for not a hair of his head would have been hurt without the most signal revenge."* The interruption was short, and the oration proceeded without further disturbance.

Dr. Warren was a member of the first committee of correspondence appointed by the city of Boston, in November 1772, which led to the subsequent union of the colonies. This committee made a report to their constituents, in which they gave a statement of the rights of the colonies, and of the violations attempted by the British ministry; this report was circulated through all the towns of the province, with an impressive letter to the inhabitants. We have not the means of knowing what part the subject of this memoir performed in this work, but there is no doubt of his sentiments, and that his efforts were constantly directed to a proper state of preparation to meet the crisis which he saw approaching. He had no confidence in the virtue of petitions or remonstrances, but he had a high opinion of the bravery of his countrymen and of their determination to defend their liberty. In a letter to Josiah Quincy, dated November 21st, 1774, at which time he was president of the provincial congress, he says, "It is the united voice of Americans to preserve their freedom or lose their lives in defence of it. Their resolutions are not the effects of inconsiderate rashness, but the sound result of sober inquiry and deliberation. I am convinced that the true spirit of liberty was never so universally diffused through all ranks and orders of people, in any country on the face of the earth, as it now is through all North America."

On the evening of the 18th of April, 1775, the design of the British to seize the military stores deposited at Concord, was communicated to Dr. Warren, and he immediately despatched several messengers with the information, by various routes, to Lexington, to rouse the

* Note in Austin's life of Gerry, Vol. I. p. 85.

militia in the neighborhood. He followed them himself, and was actively engaged in the action of the 19th. Whatever hope had been entertained of an amicable settlement of the dispute, was dissipated by the battle of Lexington; the war had begun, and large bodies of undisciplined and irregular troops—gathered in haste from the peaceful pursuits of civil life—began to assemble at Cambridge with such arms as they could command. The British forces, shut up in Boston by these brave and enthusiastic men, remained inactive until the middle of June. It was then determined by the provincial congress that Bunker hill should be occupied by a thousand men; a council of war was summoned to consider the proposition;* and on

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* Dr. Dwight (Travels, Vol. I. p. 469,) has recorded a specimen of the deliberations of this council, derived from a gentleman who was a member of it, which may be regarded as a *military curiosity*. "After it had been resolved that a thousand men should occupy Bunker hill, a question arose concerning the number of cartridges which it would be proper for each man to carry. The younger officers, guided only by their books and their common sense, proposed that the detachment should receive sixty rounds.

"The older officers, some of whom probably knew the small quantity of ammunition then in the province, and dreaded every expense of it not demanded by absolute necessity, thought this number too great. One of them, who in his former life had been accustomed to the business of scouting, and valued himself upon being an expert huntsman, observed, that the young men evidently did not understand the business, and indeed could not, since they had had no military experience. 'War,' he said, 'is in substance the same thing with hunting. A skilful hunter never shoots until he is secure of his mark. On the contrary, he watches, and waits till the deer is fairly within his reach; and then, taking exact aim, almost always makes sure of his object. In the same manner ought soldiers to act. To shoot at men without being sufficiently near, and without taking aim, is to shoot at random, and only to waste your powder. A thousand men are ordered out to Bunker hill. Suppose each man to have five rounds of cartridges; the whole number will be five thousand. If half of these should take effect, (and if they do not, the men are not fit to be entrusted with cartridges,) the consequence is, that two thousand five hundred of the British soldiers fall. Does any man believe that they will keep the ground till two thousand five hundred are shot down? Let our men take aim, then, as I do when I am hunting deer, and five rounds will be enough.' Ten will be more than enough. Such was the opinion which in the main prevailed." And such, we may add, was the advice acted upon in the battle. General Dearborne, then a captain in Colonel Stark's regiment, says in his account of the action, "each man received a *gill cup* full of powder, fifteen balls, and one flint. As there were scarcely two muskets in a company of equal calibre it was necessary to reduce the size of the balls for many of them; and, as but a small proportion of the men had cartridge boxes, the remainder made use of powder horns and ball pouches. * * * Our men were intent on cutting down every officer whom they could discover in the British line. When any of them discovered one he would instantly exclaim, '*there! see that officer, let us have a shot at him*,' when two or three would fire at the same moment; and as our soldiers were excellent marksmen, and rested their muskets over the fence, they were sure of their object." Port Folio, 1818.

the evening of the 16th, the detachment marched under the command of Colonel Prescott; but instead of halting at the designated hill, they advanced to Breed's hill, where in the course of the night, they threw up a redoubt and an entrenchment or breastwork, extending from its northern angle fifty or sixty feet towards Mystic river.

Four days previous to these transactions, Dr. WARREN had been appointed by the provincial congress, a major-general of their forces; we are not informed whether he assisted at the council of war, men tioned above, but think it most probable he did, and that it led to the conversation alluded to in Austin's life of Elbridge Gerry, and which together with the subsequent events, has been narrated by one of his biographers as follows: "On the 16th of June, he had a conversation with Mr. Gerry, at Cambridge, respecting the determination of congress to take possession of Bunker's hill. He said that for himself he had been opposed to it, but that the majority had determined upon it, and he would hazard his life to carry their determination into effect. Mr. Gerry expressed in strong terms his disapprobation of the measure, as the situation was such, that it would be in vain to attempt to hold it; adding, 'but if it must be so, it is not worth while for you to be present; it will be madness to expose yourself, where your destruction will be almost inevitable.' 'I know it,' he answered; 'but I live within the sound of their cannon; how could I hear their roaring in so glorious a cause, and not be there!' Again Mr. Gerry remonstrated, and concluded with saying, 'As surely as you go there, you will be slain.' General WARREN replied enthusiastically, 'Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.' The next day his principles were sealed with his blood. Having spent the greater part of the night in public business at Watertown, he arrived at Cambridge at about five o'clock in the morning, and being unwell, threw himself on a bed. About noon he was informed of the state of preparation for battle at Charlestown; he immediately arose, saying he was well again, and mounting a horse, rode to the place. He arrived at Breed's hill a short time before the action commenced. Colonel Prescott, 'the brave,' (as Washington was afterwards in the habit of calling him) was then the actual commanding officer. He came up to General WARREN to resign his command, and asked what were his orders. General WARREN told him he came not to command, but to learn; and having, as it is said, borrowed a musket and cartouch box from a sergeant who was retiring, he mingled in the thickest of the fight, animating and encouraging the men more by his example than it was possible to do in any other way. He fell

after the retreat commenced, at some distance in the rear of the redoubt. A ball passed through his head, and killed him almost instantly. His body was thrown into the ground where he fell."

After the British troops had evacuated Boston, General WARREN's remains (which were identified by a particular false tooth) were exhumed and removed to Boston by the free-masons, and interred with their usual solemnities; and a eulogy was pronounced by Perez Morton, Esq., in presence of a numerous assembly in the stone chapel, beneath which the remains were finally deposited. General WARREN held the appointment of grand master of masons for the continent of America, by warrant from the earl of Dumfries, grand master of Scotland. The fraternity erected a monument to his memory on the battle field, which has given place to the magnificent pile, the corner stone of which was laid by Lafayette, in 1825, on the fiftieth anniversary of the battle.

On the 8th of April, 1777, the general congress passed a resolution to erect a monument to the memory of General WARREN, who "devoted his life to the liberties of his country, and in bravely defending them, fell an early victim." It was also resolved to provide for the education of his eldest son; and in July 1780, they further resolved to allow the half pay of a major-general, from the time of his death, until his youngest child should be of age for the education and maintenance of his three youngest children. These latter resolutions were accordingly carried into effect.

"Let laurels, drenched in pure Parnassian dews,
Reward his memory, dear to every muse,
Who, with a courage of unshaken root,
In honor's field advancing his firm foot,
Plants it upon the line that justice draws,
And will prevail, or perish in her cause.
'Tis to the virtues of such men, man owes
His portion in the good that Heaven bestows;
And when recording history displays,
Feats of renown, though wrought in ancient days;
Tells of a few stout hearts, that fought and died
Where duty placed them, at their country's side;
The man that is not moved by what he reads,
That takes not fire at their heroic deeds,
Unworthy of the blessings of the brave,
Is base in kind, and born to be a slave."—COWPER.

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Knox

HENRY KNOX.

When we contemplate the lives of the leaders of our army, we are irresistibly attracted by their valor and the glory of their exploits. But in confining our admiration to their deeds of heroism, we rob them of half the meed of applause which they have justly earned. They not only fought our battles, but for eight years were the watchful guardians of their country. It is not merely their physical aid to which we are indebted; it was also their moral worth, their integrity and firmness, which saved us from the open assaults of the foe, and the covert and more dangerous designs of domestic treachery. Eight years witnessed their entire self-devotion, in which property, health, personal safety, and the pleasures of domestic life, were exchanged for the scanty and unpalatable rations of the soldier, the diseases incident to exposure in every season and climate, the dangers of the battle, and the cheerless shelter of the tented field. And for all these services, all these sacrifices, as well as positive suffering, what was their compensation? As far as it can be estimated in dollars and cents, it was "poor indeed." Yet they reaped that harvest which was more to be envied than any reward which wealth could have bestowed, in the consummation of their most sanguine hopes, in approving consciences, and the gratitude of a nation.

There are few of our revolutionary patriots who are more deserving of having their names handed down to the love and admiration of posterity, than the late General Knox; and very few to whose memory so little justice has been accorded. The limits of the present sketch will permit but a brief outline of the life and services of this eminent man, whose virtues and talents well entitle him to a more copious and extended biography, which is loudly called for by his friends and the public. At present it will be sufficient to say that of the many who devoted themselves to the noble cause of their country's freedom, none engaged in it with more ardor and enthusiasm—with more entire dedication of all the powers of body and

mind—both of which were uncommonly vigorous, and well adapted to encounter all the trials and vicissitudes of that stormy and eventful period.

Henry Knox was born in Boston, in the year 1750. It was his misfortune in early life to be deprived of a father's care, but as good is frequently educed from evil, this event however painful in itself had probably the happy effect of stimulating him to exertion, and calling his energies into early action. His attachment to a widowed mother, who was left to struggle with pecuniary embarrassments, was the strongest incentive to industry and effort, and these combined with an unblemished moral character, enabled him to establish himself, even before he became of age, as a respectable and enterprising bookseller in his native town. His prospects were encouraging and satisfactory, but when the injuries and insults heaped on us by the parent country, roused the long suffering and forbearance of our citizens to open resistance, he hesitated not to abandon all selfish and minor considerations, and to devote himself heart and hand to what he believed the righteous cause of his country. Even before this period he had been distinguished by his fondness for martial exercises, and as one of the officers of a company of grenadiers, which for the strictness of its discipline, and perfection of its evolutions, received the warm encomiums of a British officer of high distinction.

Thus early initiated in the routine of military duty, he was well qualified to become the active and energetic officer which he afterward proved. He had married the daughter of a gentleman who had long held an important office under the British government, and whose views and feelings were altogether opposed to what he considered a desperate cause. Yet this alliance had no effect to unnerve his arm, or paralyze his efforts. The influence of the lady, indeed, was not exerted to dissuade him from the path of duty, for she had fully adopted the views and feelings of her husband. Although from the bosom of a tory family, she reluctantly yet resolutely severed herself from them, and unhesitatingly encountered all the privations and hardships incident to the wife of a soldier, at this perilous and eventful period of our history. They together effected their escape from Boston, when in the occupation of the British, and in their precipitous retreat Mrs. Knox concealed the sword which he wore through the war, quilted within the lining of her cloak.

General Washington had a short time before this established his

head quarters at Cambridge, a short distance from Harvard college. Here KNOX presented himself before him, and volunteered his services in aid of his suffering country. An occasion soon offered which enabled him to prove how sincere was his devotion, how untiring his zeal in her cause. It was soon discerned by the commander-in-chief, after his arrival in the vicinity of Boston, that without ordnance, in which we were deplorably deficient, it was impossible to cope with the power of the enemy, or dislodge them from the capital of New England; but could this deficiency be supplied, the commanding heights of Dorchester would afford our army ample facilities for annoying their ships, and probably be the most effectual means of compelling them to evacuate the town. The anxious inquiry now presented itself—how was the difficulty to be remedied? how were cannon to be procured? It was at length suggested that the dilapidated forts on the Canadian frontier presented the only resource; but to encounter the toils and perils of procuring them from so great a distance, at the most inclement season of the year, required a chivalry of spirit and determination of purpose, that damped the ardor of the bravest. The object, however, was of vital importance; KNOX felt it to be so: he saw that on its success might depend the freedom of his country. Undeterred, therefore, by the many obstacles that presented themselves, he resolved to encounter them, and to put forth all his strength to accomplish so desirable an object. Washington, who duly appreciated the magnitude of the attempt, and the incalculable value of its success, accepted with affectionate gratitude the generous proposal, and afforded him all the facilities that circumstances would permit.

KNOX was then in the morning of manhood, with a fine constitution, and an athletic frame, well calculated to encounter hardship and fatigue. Nor were his mental qualities less adapted to the emergency than his physical powers. A heart glowing with patriotic zeal, was sustained by a determination of purpose not to be subdued. All difficulties yielded to his energy and perseverance, and before it was thought practicable for him to have performed the journey, he had the satisfaction of presenting to our army the all-important munitions which their destitute situation so imperiously demanded. The neighboring heights soon presented, as if by magic, a formidable array of heavy artillery, and the evacuation, by the British forces, giving relief to our imprisoned countrymen, was the happy and almost immediate result.

Washington never forgot the enthusiasm which suggested, nor

the heroic resolution that effected this daring achievement. A regular corps of artillery was now organized as a constituent part of the army, and the command conferred on the brave soldier who had so much contributed to lay its foundation; for indeed, it was in a measure true, as the poet Humphreys expresses it, that "KNOX created all the stores of war." This command, notwithstanding the intrigues of rival claimants, could not be wrested from the hands in which impartial justice had so judiciously placed it, and where, by the concurring testimony of the most distinguished French as well as American officers, it deservedly belonged.

An incident which occurred to General KNOX while on his northern expedition ought not to be omitted. It so chanced, that his steps were directed to the same cottage where the unfortunate Andre had taken shelter for the night: they had passed the evening in social intercourse, and found so many points of congeniality, that when informed that they must occupy the same bed, they were not unwilling to have a prolonged opportunity of continuing their conversation, which, although it turned on general topics, was replete with the interest which refinement and cultivation always impart even to subjects of indifference. The frankness and intelligence of these youthful warriors made a strong and mutually favorable impression, although their characters and pursuits were not disclosed until the moment of separation. But the manly sentiments and amiable manners of Andre, created so favorable an impression on General KNOX, that the pleasure of this transient interview greatly enhanced the regret (as he often observed) with which he was afterward compelled to perform the painful office of a judge upon that tribunal where duty required the sentence of condemnation against him as a public offender, whom in private intercourse he had found so interesting and unexceptionable as a companion and a gentleman.

After the battle of Whiteplains Washington deemed it prudent to retreat towards the Delaware, which he crossed with his army.

The letters of General KNOX written at this most gloomy period, afford indisputable evidence that his confidence in the goodness of our cause, and in the aid of that power who can alone ensure success, was never shaken. They express a conviction that whatever trials might be encountered, the cause of freedom would be eventually triumphant.

General KNOX took a conspicuous part in the battles at Trenton and Princeton, and he was no less active in the succeeding battles of Brandywine and Germantown, in the former of which he was

slightly wounded. This was the only wound he received in all the battles in which he was engaged.

Although the actions to which we have last alluded were both severe, the most trying scene in which the main army was engaged, was yet to come. The battle of Monmouth was the most severely contested of all the actions of the war. In this engagement so signal were the services of the artillery and its brave commander, that even the enemy could not withhold their commendations. His cool bravery, and the skilful management of his pieces, were subjects of unqualified encomium, and the commander-in-chief, in his general orders, expressed his approbation in the warmest terms.

"New laurels were reserved for him at the siege of Yorktown. To the successful result of that memorable siege, the last brilliant act of our revolutionary contest, no officer contributed more essentially than the commander of the artillery. His animated exertions, his military skill, his cool and determined bravery in this triumphant struggle, received the unanimous approbation of his brethren in arms."* In the capitulation of Cornwallis he was entrusted, as one of the commissioners, with that important and delicate negotiation. He was immediately afterward advanced by congress to the rank of major-general.

The war having been brought to a happy termination, there yet remained a duty to be performed of no common magnitude, and which had not generally been anticipated. The men who had fought the battles of their country, were to be disbanded and turned upon the world without a dollar in the treasury to discharge their hard earned wages. The resources of the country were exhausted, and the faith of a government, not yet established, was all that could be pledged for their payment. To quiet the murmurings of a discontented soldiery, who had too much cause for their complaints, required the influence, the persuasion, the firmness, and example of our bravest and best men. Knox was among those who strongly felt the impending danger, and that the liberty they had toiled so hard to win, was in danger of being lost by domestic faction. With conciliating arguments, but intrepid resolution, he interposed all his popularity and influence, and by assisting to soothe the growing irritation, he rendered important service in recalling our misguided soldiers to a sense of duty. Had the influence of a few such

* Thacher's Military Journal.

men been added to the scale of disaffection, all must have been lost.

This imminent peril thus surmounted, the officers of the army were soon to separate; and the bonds of affection which had been so strongly woven, by long and intimate union in the same glorious career, were probably to be severed forever. It was while surrounding the table of the commander-in-chief at Newburg, where nothing damped the joy which affectionate hospitality imparted, but the intruding thought of a solemn separation, that KNOX, with a warmth of feeling which so much endeared him to his friends, suggested the idea of a society to perpetuate the memory of their friendship and their toils, and of that fraternal union which the blood of the revolution had cemented. Such a society he believed might transmit to their descendants, as a legacy, the same kind feelings by which its founders were allied. With these objects in view the Cincinnati society was organized, and he was elected vice-president, which office he continued to hold during his life.

On the 25th of November, 1783, the British troops evacuated the city of New York, and General KNOX took possession with the troops under his command.

Throughout the war General Knox shared intimately and constantly in the councils of the commander-in-chief; this naturally resulted from the nature of his command, independently of which, his personal qualities were peculiarly calculated to inspire confidence and affection, and such was the regard generated "by constant intercourse, that he has sometimes been designated as the beloved disciple." This affectionate interest manifested by Washington, continued until the close of his life unabated, as was evinced by his letters long after he had retired from public life. The ardor with which he embraced him, after a very narrow escape from a party of British dragoons, and the parting interview between them at New York, where General KNOX was in command after the evacuation of the British, furnish the most unequivocal testimony of his esteem and regard.

In this sketch it will not be expected that all the events with which the subject of it was connected should be related. It is sufficient to say that wherever Washington fought, KNOX, as commander of the artillery, shared in his dangers. The sole theatre of action of this body was in the northern and middle states, until the campaign that terminated the war. The southern states exhibited many severe conflicts, but they were conducted by divisions detached for those important services, and the names of the immortal Greene and

other heroes who there led our troops to victory, have been recorded in the annals of the nation, as their memories are embalmed in the hearts of their countrymen.

After the establishment of peace, General Knox returned to his native town, with the intention of devoting himself to his private concerns, which had long suffered from unavoidable neglect. Less than a year, however, elapsed, before he was called to aid in the administration of the government. In the year 1784 he removed to New York to assume the office of secretary of war, to which he was appointed under the old confederation. When the constitution was adopted, he was reappointed to that office by President Washington, and was the efficient supporter of those measures of his administration, which laid the foundation of the unexampled prosperity of our country.

Five years' acquaintance with official duties previous to the election of General Washington to the presidency, had given him such intimate knowledge of the existing interests and relations of the country, as well qualified him to be the confidential adviser of the executive; and his reappointment to the department of war was no less satisfactory to the people than it was in accordance with the inclination of him by whom it was made. His capacious mind was not confined to the mere details of office; it reached forward to the increasing necessities and to the future greatness of the nation.

The impending war with France, and the daring outrages of the barbarous freebooters of the Mediterranean on the unprotected persons and property of our citizens, together with the importance of some means of external defence for our extensive sea-board, forcibly impressed his mind with the necessity of a *naval force.* His measures for the establishment of a navy, although its expediency was at first distrusted by some of our wisest and best men, and which for a time divided the opinion of the cabinet, were at length carried into effect in no small degree by his sanguine confidence in its success, and strenuous exertions for its accomplishment. The result soon justified its friends and silenced its opposers, and it has long since been identified as well with our glory as our prosperity.

As it was too small in its infancy to warrant a separate establishment, it was connected with the war department, and its additional duties were performed by the secretary with equal zeal and ability, until the imperious claims of private interest compelled him to turn his attention to the long neglected concerns of his family. The expenses of his open hospitality far exceeded the limited compensa-

tion of his office, and had compelled him to draw on his private resources; he had therefore, for some time felt that duty required him to retire from public life. The president, whose solicitations it was difficult to withstand, had expressed a desire that he would remain with him till the close of his own official career, and had from time to time induced him to continue, but in 1795, Washington reluctantly accepted his resignation. He was still, however, in the meridian of life, and he deemed it advisable to give himself entirely to the cultivation and improvement of an extensive tract of land in the then district of Maine, part of which Mrs. Knox inherited from her ancestor, the late General Waldo, and the rest he had purchased of the other heirs. This property comprised a large portion of what are now the counties of Lincoln, Waldo, and Penobscot. And as much of it was in possession of usurpers, or, as they are vulgarly termed, *squatters*, who had flattered themselves that they should be permitted to continue undisturbed, and had made valuable improvements; it was a task of no small difficulty and embarrassment to quiet their pretensions, although unsupported by a shadow of right. The firm yet conciliating course, however, which the proprietor pursued, eventually overcame all obstacles, and established him in the affection and esteem of all good men. His liberality and beneficence, together with the vast improvements which he suggested and carried into effect, in various branches of industry, soon rendered his residence among them a blessing, which all felt and were willing to acknowledge, for he literally made the desert to bud and blossom as the rose.

A splendid mansion had been erected at the head of St. George's River previous to his removal, and in this delightful spot, surrounded by the comforts and elegancies of life, in the bosom of an amiable and intelligent family, and with full employment for all his powers of mind and body, General Knox enjoyed a degree of happiness greater probably than he had ever before known. His wife, too, who had accompanied him through all the vicissitudes of an eight years' war, and in the hour of peril had been ever near to administer to his relief, should circumstances require— who had been the choice of his youth, the friend and companion of his riper years, and who was truly his congenial spirit—she too, was well satisfied to retire from scenes of gaiety and fashion, to the privacy of domestic life, and the society she most prized and loved, her rising offspring; this gave full scope to her active and intelligent mind, and full occupation to her leisure hours. It was soon found, however, that this

section of country, hitherto little known and less appreciated, was fast rising into notice, under the fostering care and active exertions of General Knox, and his house became the favorite resort of all whom curiosity, business, or unemployed leisure led into the vicinity. Here they found all the attractions of elegant hospitality, interesting and instructive society, and every resource which literature or science could supply. The conversation of General Knox was itself a feast. It was remarkable for originality of thought and strength of expression. He was affable without familiarity, dignified without parade—imposing without arrogance. He was blessed too with an uncommon cheerfulness of disposition, which seemed to diffuse its charm on all around him. It was, indeed, difficult to be long in his society without feeling happier as well as wiser. This trait of character—this disposition to regard the bright side of things, he cultivated and recommended as almost a religious duty—as an evidence of gratitude to the Giver of all good. It was not that he had known uninterrupted prosperity—that he had not felt a chastening hand—for it had been the will of Heaven to deprive him of a large portion of his interesting family, and no man ever more acutely felt the deprivation of these dear objects of affection. But he felt that it was the Lord, and that it became him not to murmur, or to overlook the many blessings that were accorded him. His religious views and feelings, although in some measure peculiar to himself, were enlarged and elevated: he had the firmest belief in our immortality and accountability, and believed that those who were so blest as to be admitted into heaven, would be continually progressing and advancing nearer and nearer to the great source of light and life.

The plans and projects of General Knox for the improvement of his estate, and of the province of his adoption, were more suited to his expansive mind than to his actual resources, and the consequences more advantageous to others than to himself or to his own family. They required, indeed, the finances of a company, rather than of an individual. Had he been permitted, however, to attain the common age of man, which from his vigorous constitution might well have been expected, the gradual rise in the value of the property would have undoubtedly enabled him to realize all his anticipations, and to have left his family in possession of great wealth. It was otherwise ordained. A sudden and unlooked-for accident cut him off in the midst of his days and of his usefulness, to the universal regret of all who knew him. The whole neighborhood mourned as

for a public benefactor, and felt that they "ne'er should look upon his like again." They knew, indeed, that their best friend was taken from them, and could not reasonably expect that his place would soon be filled. But to his more immediate family, the loss was overwhelming, for it came upon them like a flash of lightning, without a moment's time for preparation, and they could derive consolation only from the belief that the change was unspeakably to his advantage. They knew that he had no dread of death, that he had even considered it as a translation from a very imperfect, to a blessed and glorious state of existence, and had he been permitted to converse with them in his last moments, they knew that he would have spoken peace to their troubled souls, and charged them not to grieve for him, but so to live that they might be reunited in a never-ending union.

The immediate cause of the death of General Knox was a rapid mortification, produced from swallowing the bone of a chicken at breakfast. He was a large man, of full habit, and above the middle stature. In walking, his feet were nearly parallel, owing to the outward inclination of his lower limbs. He wore a queue, with his hair short in front, brushed up, and powdered. He had a low forehead, a large face, and small grey brilliant eyes. When walking, he carried a large cane, usually under his arm; if he used it at all, it was when excited in conversation, when he would sometimes flourish it, as if to give emphasis to his words. He usually wore black; his left hand, having been mutilated at Monmouth, was always covered with a silk-handkerchief, which he would unwind and rewind when talking, without, however, exposing his hand. His voice was strong, and was used like one accustomed to command. His mind was powerful, rapid, and decided; he was fully capable of continued and effective thought. In his habits he was highly social, and enjoyed, what few at present seem to do, a hearty laugh. He was one of the most hospitable of men. It was no unusual thing with him to make up a hundred beds a day in his house, through the summer, and to kill an ox and twenty sheep every Monday morning. His imagination was remarkably vivid, and his conversation no less brilliant than felicitous. He was accustomed to say, that throughout life he had risen with the dawn, and had always cherished a spirit of cheerfulness.

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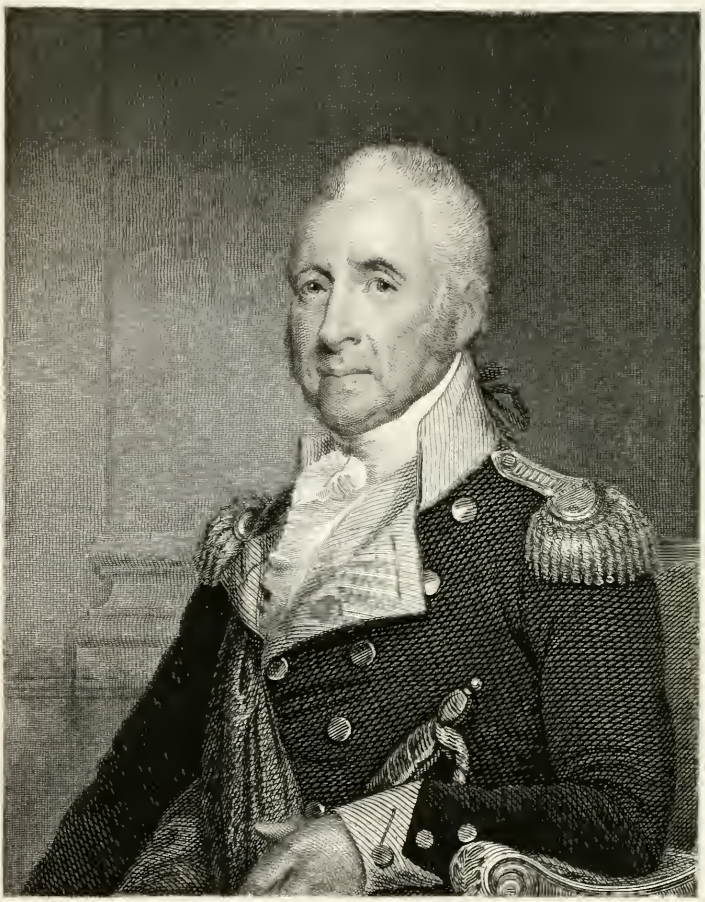

Painted by G.C.Stuart, Eng. by A.B. Durand from a Copy by James Herring.

JOHN BROOKS.

J. Brooks.

JOHN BROOKS.

Governor Brooks was one of the most favorable specimens of a truly useful character. He united the gentleman, the soldier, the civil magistrate, and the citizen, in a most perfect harmony of all the qualities which give respectability to public and private life.

He was born in the village of Medford, near Boston, in the year 1752. His family had been established in this place from the earliest settlement of the country, employed, from one generation to another, in the cultivation of the soil. The father of Governor Brooks was a respectable farmer; and he himself passed the early part of his life in the usual occupations of village husbandry. The circumstances of the family prevented his acquiring an academical education; but he attained, in the town school of Medford, sufficient knowledge of the learned languages to enable him to engage to advantage in the study of medicine,—the profession of his choice.

While at school in Medford, the celebrated Count Rumford, a native of the neighboring town of Woburn, was his associate and friend; and the intimacy then formed was kept up by correspondence, till the death of that distinguished philosopher and friend of man.

Having completed his medical studies, he established himself in the practice of his profession in the adjacent town of Reading, and there he was found at the commencement of the revolutionary war. No part of the community engaged with greater ardor in the cause of the country than the members of the medical profession; a circumstance, no doubt, to be ascribed in part to the brilliant example and commanding influence of Dr. Joseph Warren, the martyr of Bunker Hill. A company of minute-men was raised in the town of Reading, and young Brooks, a stranger, just established in the town, and but twenty-three years of age, was chosen its commander. He was indefatigable in drilling and disciplining the men, and prepared himself for this duty by carefully observing the military trainings of the British soldiery, in Boston.

The alarm of the approach of the British, on the nineteenth of April, was given in advance along the tract of country through which they were to pass. Colonel Paul Revere passed through Medford for this purpose, on his way to Concord and Lexington, on the night of the eighteenth, knocking at every door, and rousing the inhabitants. In Reading the alarm was received from Medford; and Captain Brooks' company was immediately put in motion. After proceeding some distance on the morning of the nineteenth, he was ordered, by a superior officer, to halt; but after a short delay, Brooks took the responsibility of continuing his march towards Concord. Within a short distance of that place he came up with the retreating army of the British, by a cross road which traversed the highway from Concord to Boston, at a point where a bridge and causeway were thrown over a marsh. Captain Brooks perceived, that on arriving at the causeway the enemy would have to call in their flank guards. He accordingly took a position partly covered by a barn and stone wall, near the road, and greatly annoyed the flying column of the British. After they had passed, he joined the other American forces in the pursuit to Charlestown.

In the organization of the army, which immediately took place, Brooks was appointed a major in Colonel Bridge's regiment. A battalion from this regiment formed a part of the detachment under the command of Colonel Prescott, by which the heights of Charlestown were fortified on the night of the 16th of June, 1775. Although Major Brooks' own battalion was not ordered upon this service, he himself obtained General Ward's assent to attach himself to Colonel Prescott's party. He was very active, during the night, in assisting in the work of intrenchment, and, in company with Colonel Prescott, reconnoitred the enemy. They heard, on their midnight rounds, by the water's side in Charlestown, the voice of the sentinels on board the British man-of-war, the Somerset, proclaiming "all's well." As soon as it was made manifest in the morning, from the enemy's movements, that they were preparing to cross over and attack the redoubt, Major Brooks was despatched by Colonel Prescott to Cambridge, to the general-in-chief, to make known the condition of affairs, and the want of a reinforcement. He wished to take one of the artillery horses, for greater expedition. This was opposed by Colonel Gridley, who was unwilling to risk the safety of the piece; and Major Brooks was obliged to perform his errand on foot, which he did with promptitude and success.

During the residue of the year 1775, Major Brooks paid great

attention to the discipline of his regiment, which was considered as a model in the army. When the new organization of the troops, at the beginning of the year 1776, took place, he was attached to Colonel Webb's regiment, of the Connecticut line. With this regiment he was detached to assist in throwing up the works on Dorchester heights, by which the enemy were compelled to evacuate Boston. After the British retired from Boston, Major Brooks marched, with the greater part of Washington's army, to Long Island; and was actively concerned in the service on that station, and in performing his duty in the skilful retreat which the army was compelled to make.

After the retreat of the army from Long Island, Washington took a position at the White Plains. His advanced guard occupied a hill, about a mile in front of the main army. Colonel Webb's regiment formed a part of this advanced corps. The whole of the British army moved against this position. Unable, of course, to maintain the conflict successfully against a force so overwhelming, the Americans, nevertheless, made a brave and resolute stand. Major Brooks' gallantry and conduct were conspicuous; and the regiment received the particular thanks of Washington, in his general orders, not only for its firmness in battle, but for the perfect discipline and good order evinced in the retreat. It is believed to be no injustice to the other officers of the regiment, to attribute to Major Brooks a large share of the credit which it acquired for its exact discipline and soldier-like conduct on this occasion.

This regiment was included in the division of the army which marched through New Jersey, under the command of General Lee, to reinforce Washington, on the right bank of the Delaware. Major Brooks bore his part in the hardships and dangers of this winter campaign, and remained with the regiment till the term had expired for which the men had enlisted.

In the campaign of 1777 Major Brooks was advanced to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and attached to the eighth regiment of Massachusetts troops, recruited principally by himself. Colonel M. Jackson of this regiment having been severely wounded in 1776, the command in the field devolved principally upon Lieutenant-Colonel Brooks during the campaigns of 1777 and 1778, and till he was promoted to the command of the seventh regiment, with the rank of colonel, on the death of Colonel Alden, in 1779.

In the spring of 1777, after the regiment was recruited. Lieutenant-Colonel Brooks was ordered to march to Albany and join the

northern army. On his arrival there, Fort Stanwix on the Mohawk was besieged by a portion of Burgoyne's army, then in the full career of success. A division of the American army under General Arnold was ordered to the relief of the fort, and Brooks' command formed a part of the detachment. The route lay through a wilderness, for almost the whole distance of a hundred miles. The march was performed with great rapidity; the object was accomplished, the siege raised, and the savage auxiliaries of the British army dispersed.

This service having been performed, the detachment returned to the main army on the Hudson. Immediately afterwards, General Gates advanced and stationed himself on Bemis' heights. General Burgoyne crossed the Hudson, and took up a position within two miles of that of the American army, where he established and fortified his camp. On the ground between the two armies, on the 19th of September and 7th of October, two of the severest battles of the revolutionary war were fought. On the 19th, Lieutenant-Colonel Brooks occupied the extreme left of the American line, and was engaged with the German troops. His regiment was the last to quit the field, where it remained till near eleven o'clock at night. In the still more important and severely contested action of the 7th of October, the regiment commanded by Brooks was particularly conspicuous. He turned the right of the enemy's encampment, and stormed the redoubt occupied by the Germans. Their commander, Colonel Breyman, was killed, and the works were gallantly carried. Orders were given by Burgoyne to endeavor to retake them, but the attempt was not made; and Colonel Brooks and his regiment remained masters of the ground. In this important action, the influence of which on subsequent events was so decisive, it is believed that Colonel Brooks bore a part as distinguished as that of any officer of his rank engaged. He occupies a prominent position in Colonel Trumbull's picture of the surrender of Burgoyne.

Immediately after this glorious event Lieutenant-Colonel Brooks was ordered with his regiment to Pennsylvania, to join the army under Washington. Soon after his arrival, the army took up its winter quarters at Valley Forge. Here Baron Steuben joined the army as inspector general, and introduced his new system of military manœuvres. Colonel Brooks was designated by Washington to assist the baron in bringing it into general use.

When the British army retreated from Philadelphia, in the spring of 1778, Washington left his encampment at Valley Forge and

marched on its rear. At Monmouth the two armies came in conflict; and Colonel Brooks, as adjutant-general to General Lee, performed a very conspicuous part in the events of that important day.

After the troops had again taken post on the banks of the Hudson, Colonel Brooks was employed under Baron Steuben as inspector of discipline, and rendered the most valuable services by introducing uniformity and order, under the new system, into the ranks of the army. In these various duties he acquired the confidence of Washington, and established an enviable reputation, alike for military science and the personal qualities of the brave officer. But the services which he rendered as a patriot citizen, at the time the army was disbanded, were in no degree inferior to those which he had performed in the bloodiest fields of the war.

On the appearance of the Newburgh letters, Washington summoned the officers of the army together, and affectionately exhorted them to withhold their countenance from the suggestions contained in those publications. After this address of the general, the officers raised a committee to express their views of the subject, in the form of resolutions. Of this committee Colonel Brooks was an active member. The tone and purport of the resolutions reported by the committee, are well known to all who are acquainted with the history of the American war. It would not be easy to overstate their importance, in preventing the army from being excited at this crisis to rash and unpatriotic measures. We should do injustice to this part of the subject did we not relate an anecdote, preserved by the late Chief Justice Parker of Massachusetts, in an interesting biographical sketch of Governor Brooks; nor can we do it so well, as in the words of the chief justice: — "On this occasion the commander-in-chief, to whom this was the most anxious moment in his life, rode up to Brooks, with intent to ascertain how the officers stood affected. Finding him, as he expected, to be sound, he requested him to keep his officers in their quarters, to prevent them from attending the insurgent meeting. Brooks replied, 'Sir, I have anticipated your wishes, and my orders are given.' Washington, with tears in his eyes, took him by the hand and said, 'Colonel Brooks, this is just what I expected from you.'"

Colonel Brooks, like most of his brethren in arms, retired in poverty from the service of his country. He immediately resumed the practice of his laborious profession, in Medford and the neighboring towns. The kindness of his heart and the gentleness of his manners procured him the love and confidence of all around him;

and increased, if possible, the extraordinary reliance which was placed in his professional skill.

The community, however, was not willing to release its claim on his public services. He was, immediately after the close of the war, appointed major-general of the third division of the Massachusetts militia. He was frequently chosen a representative to the general court of the commonwealth. He was a delegate to the convention of 1788, by which the constitution of the United States was adopted. To this happy frame of government he gave his hearty and intelligent support. He took part, on several occasions, in the debates of the convention. His remarks are characterized by good sense and discrimination; and in pointing out the difference between "a consolidation of the states" and "consolidation of the union," he evinced a forethought and sagacity indicative of the sound practical statesman. He was for several years a senator for the county of Middlesex, and a member of the executive council. On the visit of Washington to that part of the country, in 1789, General Brooks had the satisfaction of passing his division of the Massachusetts militia in review before the beloved and revered commander-in-chief. Their state of discipline attracted Washington's especial notice; and he said to General Brooks, "if we had had such men as these when I was here before, we should have made short work of it." When the army of 1798 was organized, Washington designated General Brooks for the command of a brigade; but not thinking the dangers of the country to be such as required from him a second sacrifice of the comforts of domestic life, he declined the appointment.

During the administration of Governor Strong, he was appointed adjutant-general of the commonwealth of Massachusetts; and on his retirement from the chief magistracy, was called to the chair of state. This event took place shortly after the close of the war of 1812. Governor Brooks was admirably fitted to coöperate in the work which then took place, of allaying party dissension. Before the close of his administration, which was renewed for six successive terms, from 1816 to 1822, the state was brought to a good degree of internal harmony; and mainly under the healing influence of his character.

He labored assiduously to discharge the duties of his office. His addresses to the legislature evince large and liberal views of the policy of the state, united with a spirit of moderation and impartiality. It was impossible to bring less of the partisan to the perform

ance of official duty. But we cannot so effectually do justice to this part of his character, as by again borrowing the words of Chief Justice Parker:—"He maintained the dignity of the office, and thereby honored the people who bestowed it; receiving all distinguished strangers with becoming attention and courtesy. Though the style of his living was conformable to his limited means, yet the order and regularity of his household, the real comfort of his entertainments, the polite deportment of the host, struck strangers, even those accustomed to magnificence, as a happy specimen of republican simplicity, and of generous but economical hospitality. Bred in the best school of manners—a military association of high-minded, accomplished officers—his deportment, though grave and dignified like Washington's, was nevertheless warm and affectionate. On all ceremonious occasions, ceremony seemed to become him better than any one else. In the chair of state, when receiving the gratulations of a happy people on the birth-day of their independence;—on the spacious common, paying honors to the president of the United States;—on the military field, reviewing our national guard, the militia;—at his own humble but honored mansion, taking to his breast his early friend, 'the nation's guest,' what young man of taste and feeling could be unmoved at his soldierly air, his graceful demeanor, covering, but not impairing the generous feelings of a warm and affectionate heart! If the writer does not mistake, he was one of the last and best samples of that old school of manners, which, though it has given way to the ease and convenience of modern times, will be regretted by some, as having carried away with it many of the finest and most delicate traits of social intercourse."

After his voluntary retirement from the chair of state, Governor Brooks still continued to serve the community in various important capacities, and to manifest his sympathy in the public spirited objects which were presented for his approbation. He continued to his death president of the Massachusetts medical society; of the Cincinnati; of the Washington monument society; and of the Bunker Hill monument association. He received from the university at Cambridge, at different periods, the honorary degrees of Master of Arts and Doctor of Laws, conferring on that ancient and venerable society, in thus becoming her adopted son, an honor not inferior to that which he himself derived from these academic distinctions.

Returned to the shades of private life, he devoted himself to the cultivation of his farm;—to a wide course of scientific, political,

and various reading; and to a free and unceremonious intercourse with the circle of friends and neighbors of which he was the ornament and boast. He reaped and enjoyed the harvest of a life of virtue, honor, and usefulness. He had retired from the public service with his faculties unimpaired, and his name untarnished by the breath of reproach. Respected, honored, and beloved, his life at every stage was passed with, perhaps, an unusual share of good fortune, yet not without trial.

He became in early life a widower, and remained so till his death. An only and beloved daughter died in a foreign land. A gallant son,—beautiful and accomplished,—the heir of the manly graces and heroic patriotism of his father, was slain in the ever memorable battle of lake Erie.

Governor Brooks was a Christian in the best sense of the word;—in heart, in principle, in action, penetrated with the influence of the gospel. He paid, throughout life, undeviating respect to the sacred offices of religion, and died consoled with its hopes, in the possession of his reason to the last.

On the 11th of February, 1825, he went abroad, perhaps for the last time, to attend the funeral of his revolutionary associate and successor in the chief magistracy of Massachusetts, the late Governor Eustis; and died himself on the second of the next month, at the age of seventy-three; leaving an only surviving child, Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Scammel Brooks, of the army of the United States. This gentleman, who was highly esteemed as an officer, was unhappily killed by the bursting of the boiler of the steam-packet Dolphin, at St. John's Bar, Florida, December 19, 1836, aged about 54 years.

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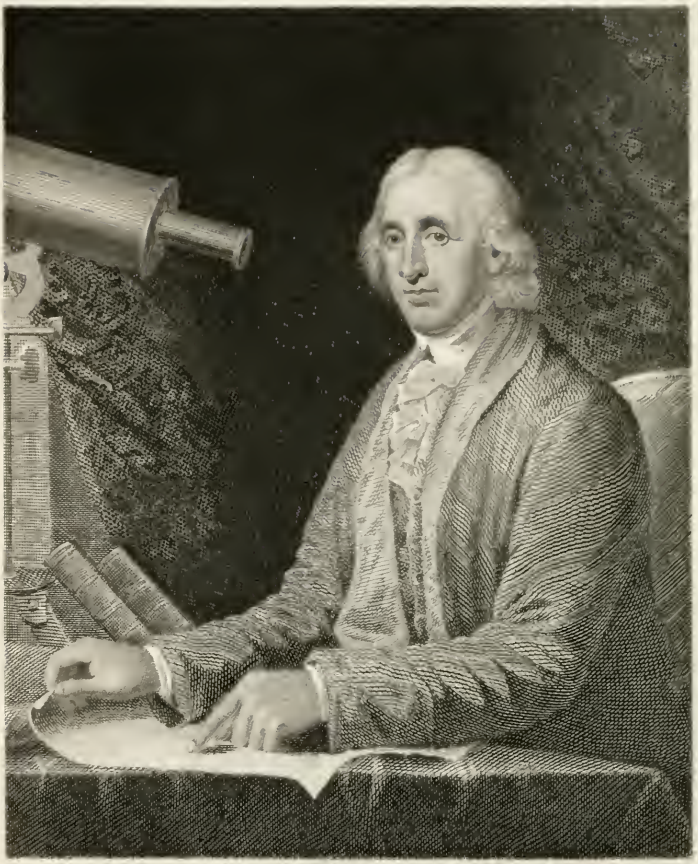

Engraved from a Picture by Wrale

Davd. Rittenhouse

DAVID RITTENHOUSE,

LL. D., F. R. S.

The life of a philosopher affords less scope for the pen of a biographer, than the career of a warrior or statesman. His thoughts make but a small impression in comparison with deeds of arms, but he is nevertheless entitled to equal regard when his mind is employed for the purpose of extending the knowledge of his fellow creatures, or his discoveries and acquirements are such as those of Rittenhouse.

This amiable philosopher was born near Germantown, Pennsylvania, April 8th, 1732; his parents emigrated from Holland, and had been distinguished, as well as their progenitors, for probity, industry, and simple manners; they had been proprietors of considerable paper manufactories. The youth of Mr. Rittenhouse was passed on the farm of his father in the county of Montgomery, twenty miles from Philadelphia, whither his father removed during the childhood of the son. His peculiar turn of mind there manifested itself; his plough, the fences, and even the stones of the field in which he worked, were found covered with figures denoting a talent for mathematics. His health, never robust, unfitting him for hard labor, his father consented that he should acquire the trade of a clock and mathematical instrument maker; a trunk containing tools which had been the property of a maternal relative, afforded the instruments with which he worked, and he was mainly his own teacher. He early made himself master of Sir Isaac Newton's Principia, through the medium of Mott's translation, and studied the science of fluxions; of this invention he conceived himself at first to be the author, nor was he undeceived for some years, when he ascertained that a contest had been carried on between Sir Isaac Newton and Leibnitz, for the honor of the discovery. On this, Dr. Rush remarks; "what a mind was here! without literary friends or society, and with but two or three books, he became, before he reached his twenty-fourth year, the rival of the two greatest mathematicians in Europe!"

From the age of eighteen to twenty-five, his time during the day

was actively employed upon his labors, while the night, or his idle hours, as he called the time for sleep, was devoted to study. It was during this double occupation, that Mr. RITTENHOUSE projected and completed an instrument which required the union of knowledge and mechanical skill of the highest order; this was his *Orrery*, which he succeeded in making more complete than had been done by former astronomers. A description of this great instrument will be found in the first volume of the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society; this Orrery was purchased by Princeton college, New Jersey, where it still remains. It exhibits the positions of the planets and their satellites at any given period of the world; past, present, or future; thus forming a perpetual astronomical almanac, where the results, in lieu of being found in tables, are actually exhibited to the sight. He completed a second, after the same model, for the college of Philadelphia, now the University of Pennsylvania, where it still is. This extraordinary instrument commanded the wonder and admiration of the learned from every part of the world.

A genius of such superior order could not long remain in obscurity; the fame of his Orrery spread far and wide. Several gentlemen, among whom were his brother-in-law, the Rev. Dr. Barton, Dr. Smith, and an ingenious mathematician, named John Lukens, appreciating more fully his talents, united in inviting him to take up his residence in Philadelphia, where his opportunities for acquiring knowledge and fame, would be enlarged; yielding, not without reluctance, he removed to that city in the year 1770, where he continued to manufacture mathematical instruments, which were acknowledged to be superior to any imported. Having previously joined the American Philosophical Society, he made a communication to that body, respecting the transit of Venus, as it would occur on the 3d of June, 1769, and was appointed on the committee to observe it in the township of Norriton, In the preparations for this observation, he was extremely active and useful; the management and construction of the apparatus being perfectly familiar to him. This phenomenon had been seen but twice by the inhabitants of our earth; it would never be again visible to any person then alive; on it depended many astronomical calculations: under such circumstances, our young star-gazer was of course in a state of mental excitement and solicitude. The sun of that day rose without a cloud; the moment of observation came—the great event occurred as RITTENHOUSE predicted, and so excited was he at the circumstance, that in the instant of one of the contacts of the planet with the sun, he actually fainted with emotion. His report was

received with satisfaction by the learned, everywhere, and acquired him an extended reputation.

In 1775, he delivered the annual oration before the Philosophical Society; it was marked by ingenious though simple language, and comprehended a lucid history of astronomy. Though delivered in a feeble tone of voice, and without the graces of the practised orator, it commanded profound attention from the audience. Astronomy was his favorite study, and the theme of the greater part of his communications for the society's transactions.

Pennsylvania viewed with pride the accession of so valued a son, and soon took care to provide for talents so uncommon; he was employed in several geodetic operations involving a considerable stake. In 1779, the legislature appointed him one of the commissioners to settle the boundary between Pennsylvania and Virginia; this he was mainly instrumental in terminating satisfactorily in 1783. In 1784, he assisted in determining the length of five degrees of longitude, from a point on the Delaware, in order to fix the western limits of the state, and in 1786, he fixed the northern line between New York and Pennsylvania. He performed the same service for New York and New Jersey, in 1769; and in 1787, he was called upon to ascertain the boundary line between Massachusetts and New York. This occupation led him to long and lonely rambles in the wilderness, to which he carried with him his habits of inquiry and investigation; but we do not find any mention of particular acquisitions thereby obtained to natural history.

In 1791, he was elected to fill the chair of president of the American Philosophical Society, vacant by the death of Dr. Franklin. His attachment to the society was evinced by a donation to its funds of the sum of three hundred pounds.

Though so ardently attached to the study of his choice, he had paid attention to theology, and was well acquainted with practical metaphysics; a great reader, a musician, and a poet; had acquired an intimate knowledge of the French, German, and Dutch languages, in which he took delight to peruse the works of the learned of those countries. His name was known and revered in every place where science was respected. Wherever he went, he was honored. As president of the society, he was much esteemed for his bland and unassuming manners, as well as for his affectionate regard for others.

He received the degree of master of arts, in 1768, from the college of Philadelphia, and the same honor was conferred upon him by the college of William and Mary, in Virginia, in 1784. The college of

New Jersey made him a doctor of laws, and he was elected a member of the American Academy of Sciences, at Boston, in 1782, and of the Royal Society of London, in 1795.

Rittenhouse was not only practically a Christian, but he believed emphatically in the Christian Revelation; forming another triumph over the vague assertion that men of genius are unbelievers. Newton and Rittenhouse will outweigh a host of thoughtless blasphemers. His beloved country occupied much of his thoughts, and was the object of the affections of his heart. Educated a republican by his father, he was firm to the principles of the revolution. In 1777, Dr. Rittenhouse was appointed treasurer of Pennsylvania; this office he held by an annual and unanimous vote of the legislature, till 1789.

In 1792, he reluctantly accepted the appointment of Director of the Mint of the United States; this office his ill health obliged him to resign in 1795. His conduct was here above suspicion; his colleague in office having declared, that he even paid for work done at the mint, out of his own salary, where he thought the charges would be considered unreasonable.

His economy extended to a wise and profitable use of his time; he was never unemployed, giving once as an apology for detaining a friend a few minutes, while he arranged some papers he had been examining, that "he had once thought health the greatest blessing in the world, but that he now thought that there was one thing of much greater value, and that was time." The philosopher was a stranger to pride and imposture in every thing. His immediate family constituted his chief society, and when the declining state of his health rendered social intercourse more pleasing than solitary study, he passed his evenings in reading or conversation with his wife and daughters.

His house and style of living, exhibited the taste of a philosopher, the simplicity of a republican, and the temper of a Christian. With his estate, though small, he was content: his mind was his fortune; avarice found no place in a breast which could calculate the stars, and estimate, at its true value, the fleetness of time and the length of eternity. Happy, indeed, is that family, where such just ideas prevail; there content waits upon cheerfulness, and the hope of immortality fortifies against the fear of death.

His constitution was naturally feeble, and he had impaired it by sedentary labor, and assiduous midnight study. A weak breast was the result, and whenever he made unusual exertions of body or mind, or during sudden changes of temperature, it became the seat of a

painful and harassing disorder. His last illness was short and painful; but his patience and kind feelings never forsook him while life remained. Upon being told that some of his friends had called to inquire how he was, he asked why they were not invited into his chamber to see him? "Because," said his wife, "you are too weak to speak to them." "Yes," he said, "but I could still have squeezed their hands." Thus, with a heart overflowing with love to his family, his friends, country, and to the whole world, he peacefully resigned his spirit into the hands of his God.

Dr. Rush, his intimate friend, has thus described his person and manners; "The countenance of Mr. RITTENHOUSE was too remarkable to remain unnoticed. It displayed such a mixture of contemplation, benignity, and innocence, that it was easy to distinguish his person in the largest company, by a previous knowledge of his character. His manners were civil and engaging to such a degree, that he seldom passed an hour, even in a public house, in travelling through our country, without being followed by the good wishes of all who attended upon him. There was no affectation of singularity, in any thing he said or did; even his hand-writing, in which this weakness so frequently discovers itself, was simple and intelligible at first sight, to all who saw it.

"Here I expected to have finished the detail of his virtues, but in the neighborhood of that galaxy created by their connected lustre, I behold a virtue of inestimable value, twinkling like a rare and solitary star. It is his superlative modesty. This heaven-born virtue was so conspicuous in every part of his conduct, that he appeared not so much to conceal, as to be ignorant of, his superiority as a philosopher and a man, over the greatest part of his fellow-creatures."

In stature, Dr. RITTENHOUSE was somewhat tall; in his person, slender and straight; and although his constitution was delicate, his bodily frame did not appear to have been originally weak; his gait was quick, and his general movements lively; his face was of an oval form; his complexion fair, with brown hair in youth, somewhat whitened by age. All his features were good; forehead high, capacious and smooth; his grayish-colored eyes expressed animation, reflection, and good nature. In his temper, he was naturally placid and good humored, yet sometimes grave and inclined to pensiveness; in proportion to his means, he was remarkably charitable. He loved quiet and order, and preferred retirement to the bustle of the world. He considered ambition, pomp, and ostentation, as being generally inconsistent with true happiness.

Professor Barton, the deceased's nephew and friend, who attended him in his last illness, states, that after doing something to alleviate his pain, he asked him if he did not feel easier; "he calmly answered in these memorable words, which it is impossible for me to forget, for they were the last he ever distinctly uttered, and they make us acquainted with the two most important features of his religious creed; 'Yes, you have made the way to God easier!'"

The remains of this distinguished philosopher were deposited, agreeably to a desire he had expressed long before his death, beneath the pavement within the small observatory which he had erected many years before, in the garden adjoining his house. The house is still standing at the north west corner of Arch and Seventh streets, but the observatory has disappeared to make way for modern improvements, and the body now rests in the cemetery adjoining the Presbyterian church in Pine street, Philadelphia, near the body of his son-in-law, Mr. Sergeant. The grave of the American astronomer is enclosed under a plain marble slab, thus inscribed:—

IN MEMORY OF
DAVID RITTENHOUSE,
BORN APRIL 18TH, 1732,
DIED JUNE 26TH, 1796;
AND
HANNAH RITTENHOUSE,
HIS WIFE,
WHO DIED OCTOBER 15TH,
1799,
AGED 64 YEARS.

Mr. Jefferson succeeded him as president of the Philosophical Society. That gentleman, in his refutation of the Count de Buffon's preposterous theory, "of the tendency of nature to *belittle* her productions on this side the Atlantic," has said, after mentioning in proper terms, Washington and Franklin, &c., "we have supposed RITTENHOUSE second to no astronomer living; that in genius he must be the first, because he is self-taught. As an artist, he has exhibited as great a proof of mechanical genius as the world has ever produced. He has not indeed made a world; but he has, by imitation, approached nearer his Maker than any mere man who has lived from the creation to this day."

A list of the papers communicated by Dr. RITTENHOUSE to the society of which he was president, will be found in his memoirs, written by William Barton, M. A., and published in Philadelphia in 1813.

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Edward Preble.

EDWARD PREBLE.

Commodore Edward Preble, one of the most distinguished among American naval commanders, was born August 15th, 1761, in a part of the ancient town of Falmouth, which is now Portland, in Casco Bay, Maine. He was the son of the Hon. Jedidiah Preble, a brigadier-general under the government of Massachusetts Bay, and after the commencement of the revolution a member of the council and senate. He died at the age of 77, in 1783.

Edward being designed for a liberal education and a profession, was at a suitable age placed at Dummer academy, in Newbury, then under the care of Mr. Samuel Moody, a celebrated teacher. The young gentleman is understood to have been less engaged here, in the interest of his literary pursuits, than in more active and enterprising employments, but he nevertheless gained, during his stay at school, much valuable information and discipline, the effect of which was plainly discernible, as well in the quality of his conversation, as in the phraseology of his official orders and letters.

Preble is said to have discovered, from his childhood, a disposition for athletic and adventurous exercises, and a firm, resolute, and persevering temper. Tradition reports that his preceptor was much impressed with the last-named trait in his character, and that on one occasion at least, he had a remarkable opportunity of testing it. Our young hero, in an encounter with a school-fellow, had given him a blow, which covered his face with blood. The boy presented himself in this plight to Mr. Moody, and announced the guilt of Preble. Mr. Moody, who was unfortunately an irritable person, in the heat of his indignation, seized the fire-shovel of the school-room, sprang toward the offender, and aimed a blow at his head, which, however, he took care should just escape on one side of his mark, and fall on the desk. He repeated the movement, bringing down his deadly weapon on the other side, with the utmost violence. Preble, meanwhile, never changed his attitude or countenance; but sitting perfectly erect, looked calmly in the face of his

assailant. The latter from being pale and quivering with rage, became instantly composed, and, turning away, exclaimed, "That fellow will make a general!"

On leaving school, the young man felt within him so strong a renewal of a predilection he had early entertained for a seafaring life, that his father, though opposed to his choice, thought it unwise to thwart him, and he was put on board a ship. His first voyage was to Europe, in a letter of marque, Captain Friend, near the close of which, as they came upon our coast in severely cold and boisterous weather, PREBLE had an opportunity of manifesting his activity and hardihood to eminent advantage, and he gained himself no little honor.

About the year 1779, he became midshipman in the state ship, Protector, of twenty-six guns, commanded by John Forster Williams. That vessel on her first cruise, engaged off Newfoundland, the letter of marque, Admiral Duff, of thirty-six guns, and so disabled her in a short but bloody action, that she was forced to strike, but blew up a few moments afterwards. On her second cruise, she was captured by a British frigate and sloop of war. The principal officers were taken to England, but PREBLE, by the interest of one of his father's friends, Colonel Tyng, obtained his release at New York and returned home.

He now entered as first lieutenant on board the sloop of war Winthrop, Captain Little, who had been Williams' second in command in the Protector, had scaled the walls of his prison at Plymouth, (England,) and escaping with one other person in a wherry to the coast of France, thence took passage to Boston, and it was upon this station that one of PREBLE's exploits took place, which well exemplified the daring courage and intrepidity natural to the man.

Captain Little had taken the tender of a brig, of force superior to his own, which lay in the waters of the Penobscot, (in Maine.) From the crew he gained such information of the position of the brig, as determined him on an attempt to seize her by surprise. He ran her alongside in the night, having prepared forty men to jump into her, dressed in white frocks, to enable them to distinguish friend from foe; coming close upon her, he was hailed by the enemy, who, as was said, supposed the Winthrop must be her tender, and they cried out, "You will run us aboard!" "Aye!" shouted PREBLE, "I am coming aboard!" and he immediately sprang into the vessel, with fourteen men. The motion of the vessel was so rapid that the rest of the forty, destined for boarding, missed their opportunity.

Little cried out to his lieutenant, "Will you not have more men?" "No!" he answered with great presence of mind, (expecting to be overheard by the enemy, "we have more than we want, we stand in each other's way." Those of the English crew who were on deck, by this time were leaping over the side; and others below from the cabin windows; and they were soon seen swimming for the shore, which was within pistol shot. PREBLE instantly entering the cabin, found the officers either in bed, or just rising; he assured them they were his prisoners, and that resistance, if attempted, would be fatal to them. Supposing themselves mastered by superior numbers, they submitted without the slightest effort to rescue the vessel. The enemy's troops on shore, marched down to the water, and commenced a brisk firing with muskets; and the battery also opened a cannonade, but the latter was too high to take effect, and no damage was done by either. The captors were meantime beating their prize out of the harbor, whence they soon conveyed her to Boston.

PREBLE continued in the Winthrop during the whole of the war, and that vessel is acknowledged to have rendered eminent service in protecting our trade near the shores, and picking up a great number of the small privateers which issued from the British ports to the eastward. After the close of the war, when our flag began to be extensively known in foreign seas, he was a ship master, in successive voyages, for a number of years.

In 1798, our relations with France called the attention of government to the state of our navy, if navy it deserved to be called; and during that and the ensuing year, fifteen frigates, and about twelve other vessels of war, were built and commissioned. PREBLE was one of the five first-lieutenants first appointed. In the winter of 1798–9, he made two cruises as commandant of the brig Pickering, and the next year, with a captain's commission, he received command of the frigate Essex, of thirty-six guns. In January, 1800, he made a voyage in this vessel to Batavia, in company with the frigate Congress, to convoy our homeward bound ships. The Congress was dismasted, and put back. PREBLE proceeded alone, and in June he took under convoy fourteen sail of merchantmen, valued at several millions of dollars. Afterwards he was appointed to the command of the Adams, for the Mediterranean, but his health, which now began to fail, compelled him to leave the profession until 1803, when he commenced a career in our operations against the Algerine pirates, which not only redounded much to his own credit, but exalted the character of the American navy in the eyes of all

nations. On this occasion he commanded the Constitution frigate, and had under him also the frigate Philadelphia, and several smaller vessels. The satisfactory negotiations concluded by him with the emperor of Morocco, and the details of the memorable bombardment of Tripoli, till PREBLE was relieved by the arrival of his senior, Commodore Barron, are familiar to all readers of our history. The value of his services was recognised by a vote of congress, conferring upon him the thanks of the nation, and an elegant medal, which were both presented by the president, with the most emphatic expressions of esteem. The officers of his whole squadron, also, on his leaving them, had joined in a highly gratifying address. Peace was concluded with Tripoli the next year.

In the latter part of 1806, the commodore's health began again to fail under his old complaint, a debility of the digestive organs. He struggled with it for some months, indulging a hope of recovery till within ten days of his death, which took place on the 25th of August, 1807, in the forty-sixth year of his age. He regarded the approach of that event with the fortitude which became his character, and his exit was in full correspondence with his life.

The inhabitants of Portland united in every mark of respect to his remains. On the day of his funeral business was suspended, and the colors displayed at half-mast in the harbor, and he was interred with military honors. On the intelligence of his decease reaching Washington, the event was commemorated with the testimonies due to the memory of a patriot hero.

The private character of Commodore PREBLE was eminently attractive. In authority, indeed, he was rigid, and perhaps sometimes failed in restraining the native impetuosity of his temper; but in domestic life he was placid, affectionate, patient of labor, social, and in business of all sorts remarkable for exactness and despatch. He had been married several years, and left a wife and one son to mourn his loss and inherit the legacy of his fame.

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David Wooster

DAVID WOOSTER.

David Wooster was born in Stratford, Connecticut, on the 2d March, 1710, of very respectable parents. Of his early life, little can now be ascertained, as all the family papers were destroyed by the British when they pillaged the town of New Haven, in 1779. We only know that he received a liberal education, and graduated at Yale college in the year 1738. In the following year, when the Spanish war broke out, he was employed as first lieutenant, and soon after as captain of the vessel built and armed by the colony, as a guard-a-costa.

Not long after this, he married the eldest daughter of the Rev. Thomas Clap, president of Yale college, a young lady not less distinguished for her strength of mind, than for her uncommon resolution, and he became the father of two children, a son and daughter.

David Wooster had naturally a military turn, and he soon had an opportunity of following his inclination, and was first appointed a captain in Colonel Burr's regiment, which formed part of the troops sent by Connecticut, in the celebrated expedition against Louisburg, in 1745. He then proved himself an active and spirited officer, and bore a distinguished part in the siege and capture of that strong fortress. He was retained among the colonial troops to keep possession of the conquest he had assisted in effecting; and he was soon after selected from among the American officers to take charge of a cartel-ship for France and England. He was not permitted to land in France, but was received in England with distinguished honor. The young American officer, as he was called, was presented to the king, and became the favorite of the court. The king admitted him in the regular service, and he was presented with a captaincy in Sir William Pepperel's regiment with half pay for life. His likeness

at full length was taken* and transferred to the periodical magazines of that day. The peace of Aix-la-chapelle which took place in 1748, restored Louisburg to France, and the young American officer to private life and his family. He was not, however, permitted to remain long in this situation; the war of 1756 followed, and in this great contest, WOOSTER was appointed colonel of a regiment raised in Connecticut, and afterwards to the command of a brigade, in which station he remained until the peace of 1763. He then returned to his family, bearing many marks of his valor and intrepidity.

Soon after the close of this war, he engaged in mercantile business in New Haven, and held the office of his majesty's collector of the customs for that port. Having in the two preceding wars mixed much in the world, and formed a numerous acquaintance, both in Europe and America, and possessing a generous and liberal mind, his house was the seat of hospitality.

In the great contest between the parent country and the North American colonies, although an officer in the British regular establishment, and entitled to half pay for life, he did not hesitate to take part with his native country, and his pen and sword were actively employed in the defence of its rights.

After the battle of Lexington, he was fully aware that the sword alone must decide the contest. He, as well as other military men of experience, at once saw how important it was for the Americans to get possession of the fortresses of the country, together with the cannon, arms, and military stores therein deposited. The peculiar situation of the fort at Ticonderoga, commanding the great pass between the north Atlantic colonies and Canada, did not escape his notice. He, therefore, with a few others of a kindred spirit, early in May, 1775, secretly planned an expedition from Connecticut, to seize upon and retain that important fortress; and to enable them to carry their design into execution, they privately obtained a loan of eighteen hundred dollars from the treasury of the state, for which

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* This portrait is in possession of an English gentleman residing at Valparaiso. A descendant of General WOOSTER accidentally met with it there, and had it copied; from that copy our engraving was made. While on this subject, we will add another incident connected with it. The autograph of General WOOSTER is a fac simile from a deed dated May 5th, 1772—the only document we could find bearing his signature—conveying to him the whole township of Wethersfield, in Connecticut, containing twenty-three thousand acres of land, in consideration of five pounds, New York currency, paid to each of the original patentees, twenty-two in number.—ED.

they became personally responsible. Such was the secrecy and despatch in executing this measure, that, on the 10th of May, as is well known, this fort was surprised and delivered up to Allen and Arnold, and their brave followers. This step, one of the boldest taken at that period of the contest, was at the sole risk and responsibility of General WOOSTER and other individuals. Congress, when informed of this transaction, recommended that an inventory of the cannon and military stores found in the fort should be taken, "in order," as they said, "that they may be safely returned when the restoration of the former harmony between Great Britain and these colonies, so ardently wished for by the latter, shall render it prudent and consistent with the overruling care of self-preservation."

The military experience as well as the daring spirit of General WOOSTER recommended him to congress, when raising an army of defence, and among the eight brigadier-generals appointed by that body, on the 22d of June, 1775, he was the third in rank. The operations of that year were principally confined to the vicinity of Boston, and to an expedition against Canada, under the command of General Montgomery.

During the campaign of 1776, General WOOSTER was employed principally in Canada, and at one time had the command of the continental troops in that quarter. Owing to several circumstances, the Americans lost in Canada, during this year, all that had been gained in the preceding. The small pox which unfortunately broke out among the troops, and the want of medical aid and accommodations, together with the consequent insubordination of the men, may be assigned among the principal causes.

This rendered the situation of the officers in command peculiarly trying, and General WOOSTER, on his return, requested congress to institute an inquiry into his conduct, while he commanded in Canada. This inquiry was made by a committee of that body, and the general was acquitted of all blame.

After this expedition, he returned home, and was then appointed first major-general of the militia of his state. During the whole winter of 1776–7, he was employed in protecting Connecticut against the enemy, and particularly the neighborhood of Danbury, where large magazines of provisions and other articles had been collected by the Americans. He had just returned to New Haven from one of his tours, when he heard on Friday, 25th of April, '77, that a body of two thousand men sent from New York on the preceding day, had effected a landing between Norwalk and Fairfield, for the

purpose of destroying the magazines at Danbury, which object they accomplished the next day.

Immediately on hearing this news, Generals Wooster and Arnold set off from New Haven, to join the militia hastily collected by General Silliman. In consequence of a heavy rain, the militia ordered from New Haven, did not arrive in the vicinity of Danbury, until the 26th, in the evening. The number of the militia thus collected, was about six hundred men, and with this small force it was determined to attack the enemy the following morning on their retreat, and for this purpose a part of the men were put under the command of General Wooster, and a part under General Arnold. General Wooster pursued and attacked the enemy, regardless of the inequality of numbers. But being inexperienced militia, and the enemy having several field pieces, his men, after doing considerable execution, were broken and gave way. The general was rallying them, when unfortunately for his family and his country, he received a mortal wound. A musket ball took him obliquely, broke his back bone, lodged within him and never could be found. He was removed from the field and had his wound dressed by Dr. Turner, and was then conveyed to Danbury, where all possible care was taken of him. The surgeons were from the first aware of the danger of the case, and informed the General of their apprehensions, which he heard with the greatest composure. His wife and son had been sent for, and arrived soon enough to receive his parting benediction. He told them that "he was dying, but with the strong hope and persuasion that his country would gain its independence." How gloriously his presentiment has been verified!

He expired on the 2d of May, 1777, at the age of sixty-seven. His remains were deposited in the burying ground of the village, which he had thus died defending.

Duly sensible of the loss the country had sustained in the death of General Wooster, and justly appreciating, "his merits and services," congress, on the 17th of June following, "*Resolved*," that a monument should be erected to his memory. They appropriated five hundred dollars for that purpose, and requested the executive of Connecticut to carry their resolution into effect; but it has been neglected, and the bones of the hero lie inglorious in a country graveyard, without even a stone to mark the spot.

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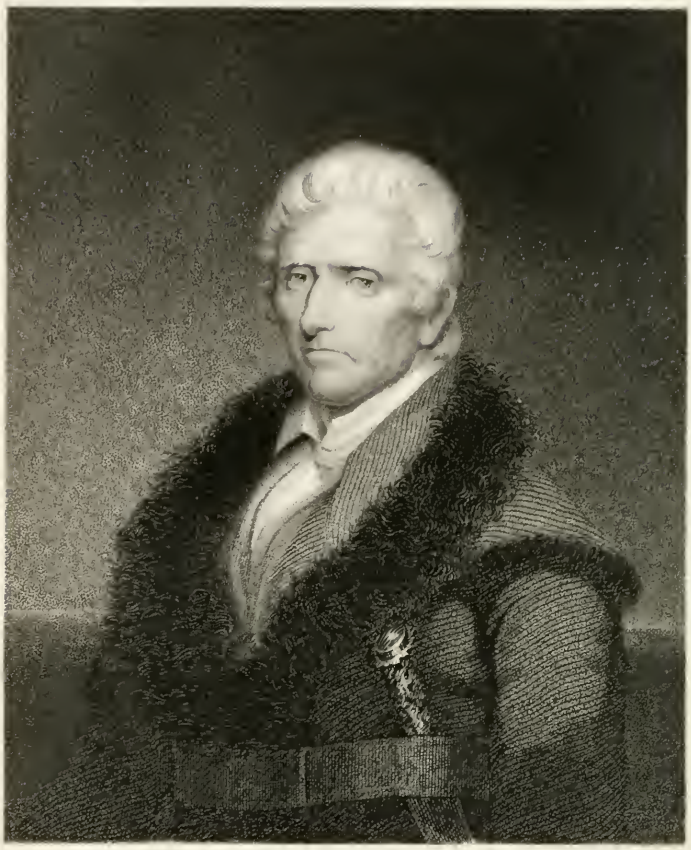

Daniel Boone

DANIEL BOONE.

Of all men, saving Sylla the Man-slayer,
Who passes for in life and death most lucky,
Of the great names which in our faces stare,
The General Boone, Backwoods-man of Kentucky,
Was happiest among mortals any where;
For killing nothing but a bear or buck, he
Enjoyed the lonely, vigorous, harmless days
Of his old age in wilds of deepest maze.
Crime came not near him—she is not the child
Of solitude; health shrank not from him—for
Her home is in the rarely-trodden wild;
Where if men seek her not, and death be more
Their choice than life, forgive them as beguiled
By habit to what their own hearts abhor—
In cities caged. The present case in point I
Cite is, that Boone lived hunting up to ninety;
And what's still stranger, left behind a name
For which men vainly decimate the throng,
Not only famous, but of that *good* fame,
Without which Glory's but a tavern song—
Simple, serene, the antipodes of shame,
Which hate nor envy e'er could tinge with wrong;
An active hermit, even in age the child
Of nature, or the Man of Ross run wild.

Byron.

Just twenty-two years before the birth of Daniel Boone Governor Spotswood, of Virginia, established an order of knighthood in the "Ancient Dominion," under the title of "The Tramontane Order, or the Knights of the Golden Horse-shoe." Each of the knights was entitled to wear a golden horse-shoe upon his breast, as a mark of distinction for having penetrated to the summit of the Blue Ridge, all beyond which, at that day, was the unknown west. Could these redoubted heroes have extended the limits of human life but a little beyond the allotted three score years and ten, and have been permitted to stand face to face with the great western pioneer, how their golden honors would have dwindled into insignificance, in comparison with

the higher stamp of heroism imprinted upon the person of the sturdy old warrior who is the subject of this brief sketch!

Daniel Boone was born in the year 1736, in Bucks county, Pennsylvania, near Bristol, on the right bank of the Delaware, about twenty miles from Philadelphia. His father emigrated successively to Reading, on the head waters of the Schuylkill, and to one of the valleys of South Yadkin, in North Carolina.

It is believed that his immediate ancestors were among those Catholics who emigrated to Maryland soon after its settlement by Lord Baltimore; but as there is no evidence that he either inherited, or derived from parental culture, even the germ of those peculiarities which distinguished him in after life, we shall not occupy our limited space in tracing out his ancestry, or dwelling at length upon his early years. Daniel Boone was preëminently the architect of his own character and fortunes. Very early in life he exhibited a fondness for his gun, and the stirring pastime of the chase. Numerous instances are on record of his hair-breadth escapes and daring adventures in pursuit of the panther, the bear, and the wolf, with which the country of his father's adoption abounded. But his peculiar temperament was destined to unfold itself in another and wilder field of adventure. Just before his third emigration, however, he was engaged in an affair which exercised such an important influence upon his after life, that we cannot resist the temptation briefly to relate it. In the immediate neighborhood of his father's new settlement, another adventurer, named Bryan, soon made his appearance, and planted himself upon a beautiful spot, washed on one side by a lovely mountain stream, near which had been the favorite hunting-ground of the young sportsman. On a certain evening, Boone engaged a friend to meet him at this spot, for the purpose of engaging in a "fire hunt." In this wild sport one of the parties usually rides through the forest, with a pine torch borne on high, which, shedding a glaring light through the gloomy precincts, so dazzles the eyes of the deer, that the other party, who is on foot, shoots the game between the eyes, while the bewildered animal is staring at the blaze. Boone's companion was to bear the torch and accordingly appeared upon the field, and commenced the usual round. They had not proceeded far, when Boone gave the concerted signal to keep the light stationary. The horseman obeyed, and waited in momentary expectation of hearing the sharp and fatal report of his friend's rifle. Not hearing it, however, he turned his horse to ascertain the cause of the unwonted delay, when he saw his

friend drop his rifle, and set off in pursuit of some shadowy object, over bush and briar, fence and field.

When Boone gave the signal to his friend, he indeed saw the flame of the torch reflected by a pair of brilliant eyes, and he immediately cocked his gun, and brought it to his eye; but instead of standing stupefied by the light to be shot at, the supposed fawn wheeled precipitately, and fled. During this unusual movement, Boone caught a glimpse of the flowing folds of a petticoat—dropped his rifle, and made chase after his game. So intense had been his interest in the pursuit, that he was little less surprised than his new neighbor, Mr. Bryan, when he found himself standing in his door-way, having driven the object of his chase into the paternal arms.

Boone's embarrassment and surprise may easily be imagined, when he saw the consternation of the father and the panting terror of his beautiful daughter, who had scarcely turned her sixteenth summer, and whose lustrous ringlets were flying about her face, neck, and palpitating bosom, in the richest contrast of light and shade. Strange as it may appear of our hardy backwoodsman, he became agitated in his turn; with all the stern and rugged qualities of his nature, he was taken captive at first sight by a maiden's charms. And what was not less strange, the blushing Hebe, who had run into her father's arms, declaring that she was pursued by a panther, now perceived that he was not such a frightful animal, as her first impression in the dark had led her to suppose.

Indeed, Boone was at this time just in the first flush of youthful vigor; his person straight and well proportioned—countenance manly and prepossessing, and the whole appearance of the man presenting such a hero to the eye of the unsophisticated girl, as her imagination was likely to create for itself in that remote and secluded scene. In short, they loved mutually, and Miss Rebecca Bryan in a very short time became Mrs. Boone.

On the first of May, 1769, Boone resigned the domestic comforts of his peaceful habitation on the Yadkin river, and in obedience to those roving impulses which were always predominant in his character, but which, we may presume, lay dormant during the first joys of conjugal love, started upon his first expedition beyond the Alleghany mountains. He was accompanied, as we are informed by himself, by John Findley, John Stuart, Joseph Holden, James Monay, and William Cool. John Findley was the only one of this adventurous band who had ever visited these untamed regions, as yet under the dominion of wild beasts and wilder men. Findley, in his former trading

expedition with the Indians, had penetrated as far as Red river; and on the 7th of June, our adventurers found themselves on the banks of the same stream. Here, from the top of an eminence, Boone, like Moses of old, beheld the land of promise, here the broad bottoms—skirting the since far-famed Kentucky, first greeted his longing eyes. He informs us of his raptures at the enchanting prospect, with something of the true poetical fire.

Here they erected a rude shanty, to protect themselves from the rains, which had much impeded their previous hunting excursions on the route. They found the country abounding with game of every description indigenous to those latitudes of North America. The plains were covered with buffaloes, running wild in herds far surpassing in number, as Boone informs us, anything he had ever seen in the fields of the wealthiest grazier. To the salt springs of the region, especially, they found that the buffalo and deer came in droves. Here Boone was in his glory: killing all kinds of game to his heart's content through the day, and at night meeting with his companions in their rude shanty, to recapitulate the adventures of the day, eat their venison and buffalo steaks, and enliven the solitude of the place with such minstrelsy as their company afforded. This sort of life, so congenial to the feelings of Boone, was kept up until the 22d of September, when an unfortunate adventure befel two of the party, which turned their hitherto jovial evening meetings into sorrow and repining.

On the morning of that day, it fell to the lot of Boone and Stuart to hunt together; they met with extraordinary success throughout the greater part of the day, until toward evening, as they were ascending a high hill near the Kentucky river, covered to its summit with majestic trees, which threw their gigantic shadows far down its sides, casting a sombre hue over the primeval landscape, a horde of savages rushed from their gloomy hiding-places, and made them prisoners. The Indians plundered them of their game and principal clothing, and kept them in close confinement.

With that tact for which Boone was afterwards so distinguished, he induced his companion to assume, and pretended himself the greatest indifference as to their escape. On the seventh night of their captivity, when the vigilance of the savages was well nigh disarmed by the well acted *ruse*, and the whole camp was wrapt in profound slumber, Boone gently awoke his companion, and regaining their arms, they escaped without rousing their usually watchful captors. They immediately pursued their way to the shanty; but here another disappointment awaited them: they found it plundered,

and their companions dispersed, murdered or gone home—they knew not which. Desolate and friendless indeed was their situation now: hundreds of miles from the habitation of civilized man, almost destitute of clothing and ammunition, surrounded by thousands of cruel and murderous savages; and the wild forests, in which the sound of the axe had never been heard, teeming with wild beasts, which nightly sent up frightful howls to destroy their rest. But Boone never despaired; he kept up his own vigor of body and mind, and reanimated the spirits of his companion. He called all their slender resources into action, husbanded his ammunition and the game which was its product, and was proceeding in that course which only could have preserved their lives and conducted them to their homes, when Providence sent them by other and more direct means a most unexpected deliverance. Boone's brother, either fired with some of his ardor for the wild excitement of the forest or fearing the result which had actually occurred, set out in company with a friend upon the same route. While Daniel Boone and his now sole companion, Stuart, were out in pursuit of their daily supply of game, Squire Boone (as our adventurer calls his brother) and his companion accidentally discovered their encampment. The new comers were quietly seated in the shanty, regaling themselves upon the good things which Daniel and Stuart were so carefully husbanding for the last resort, when the two latter arrived towards night-fall at their camp. What must have been their surprise and delight when they returned to their lone quarters, and found two civilized beings like themselves, well provided in those necessaries the failure of which they had begun to anticipate with so much dread! Joyful indeed was the meeting, and the reader may conceive with what zest their various adventures were related and listened to.

But this restoration to something like the enjoyment of social life, was destined to be again interrupted. John Stuart, the companion of Daniel Boone in his captivity among the Indians, was soon after slain in an encounter with a small party of one of the numerous hordes inhabiting that wild and unreclaimed country. After this unfortunate occurrence, the companion of Squire Boone became disheartened, and returned home; thus leaving our adventurer once more with a single companion in the wilderness. His situation, however, was now vastly better than it was when the unfortunate Stuart and himself were the sole tenants of the forest. They had now horses and ammunition, and all those necessaries upon which life depends in such a situation.

Winter began to make its approach, and the two Boones thought it advisable to construct for themselves a more commodious dwelling, and one better calculated to protect them from the inclemency of the advancing season. Accordingly they set to work, and built (as Daniel assures us, in such fragments of his journal as have been preserved) a comfortable cottage. They found plenty of game to subsist on through the winter, and were undisturbed by the savages. But the month of May found the brothers again looking forward, with dread and anxiety, to the exhaustion of their stock of ammunition. With that true wisdom which necessity and suffering always teach, these energetic young men did not wait until the evil day came on, but braced themselves like true heroes to the urgency of the occasion. One of them resolved to return home, and procure those things of which they now stood in need, while the other should await his return.

On the first of May, 1770, Squire Boone commenced his journey homewards, for the purpose of procuring ammunition, salt, and sugar, leaving Daniel without any of these necessaries, except a small supply of ball and powder. One would naturally suppose that the remaining brother would have suffered dreadfully from the constant dread of savages, wild beasts, famine, or sickness, in this lone place; but, strange as it may appear, he assures us that he was amply compensated for the want of society, by the glories of nature, so lavishly spread around him,—the magnificent trees just clothing themselves in the green livery of summer, the beautiful flowers, and the wild herds nipping the pasturage on the wide plains, extending, like an immense panorama, as far as the eye could reach. It would seem, from this view of his character by his own hand, that the sterner qualities of mind, and the power of enduring bodily fatigue, are not necessarily incompatible with the softer sentiments of the heart.

Daniel Boone continued in these solitary quarters until the 27th of July, occasionally expending a small portion of his ammunition in killing game necessary for his sustenance, with such caution as the miser uses in parting with his treasured hoard. The Indians frequently visited his quarters during his absence, as he found by their foot-marks. This induced him, whenever the weather would permit, to secrete himself in the cane-brakes or neighboring bushes, for the purpose of passing the night in greater security. To this precaution he attributed the preservation of his life. On the day just mentioned, his brother returned, provided with an ample supply of

those articles which are more valued than gold and silver in these primitive regions.

They soon after left the quarters which had so long, and under such variety of incidents, afforded them shelter, and proceeded on an expedition to the Cumberland river, making observations on the country through which they passed, for future use; and naming the rivers which they were compelled to ford.

In March, 1771, the two adventurers returned to their families on the Yadkin, in North Carolina. The subject of our memoir found his family in happy circumstances, and, as may be well imagined, delighted at the return of him whom they had almost despaired of ever more beholding. He informs us, that he was so charmed with the country of the "*Kentucke*," that he was determined, at the risk of his life, to remove his family thither. Accordingly, having sold his farm on the Yadkin, and induced five families in the vicinity to join him, they set out on their expedition on the 25th September, 1773. As they journeyed through Powell's Valley, which was then one hundred and forty-five miles from the settled parts of Virginia, forty hardy sons of the forest joined the adventurous enterprise. They pursued their journey uninterruptedly until the 10th of October, when the rear of the caravan was furiously attacked by a large body of Indians. Our adventurers fought with great bravery, and handled their rifles with their usual unerring precision, and were at length enabled to repulse an enemy greatly superior to them in number, but not without losses in their own ranks. Six men were killed and one wounded. Among the former was Boone's eldest son, a most daring and impetuous lad, whose death he assures us, covered the enterprise with gloom and melancholy. During the engagement the Indians succeeded in scattering their cattle and otherwise injuring their property, so that they were compelled to retreat forty miles to the settlement on Clinch river.

They had passed over two mountains, Powell's and Walden's, and were approaching Cumberland mountain, when this misfortune befel them. These mountains are situated in what was then called the wilderness, between the settlements then existing in Western Virginia, and the place of their destination. These they were now compelled to recross, and the enterprise was abandoned by nearly all those who had engaged in it. Thus was this gallant little band dispersed by the unfortunate rencounter with the savages. Boone remained with his family at the settlements on Clinch river, until the 6th of June, 1774, when he, together with an adventurer by the name of Storer, was

engaged by Governor Dunmore, of Virginia, to conduct a number of surveyors to the falls of the Ohio. This was a tour of near eight hundred miles—performed on foot, and accomplished in sixty-two days.

On his return, Governor Dunmore gave him the command of three garrisons, which he maintained during the war of the period, a ainst the Shawnese.

In March, 1775, he was requested by a number of gentlemen of North Carolina to attend at an assemblage of the Cherokee Indians, convened for the purpose of forming a treaty, and purchasing their lands south of the "*Kentucke.*"

He was soon afterwards employed to mark out the most direct route for a road from the settlements in Virginia to the country of his first adventures.

Having collected a number of hardy and enterprising men, well armed, he soon began his work, and proceeded until he came within fifteen miles of where Boonesborough now stands. Here the savages attacked them, killed two, and wounded two more of the adventurers.

On the 5th of March, 1775, three days after the rencounter just mentioned, the Indians attacked them again, when two more were killed and three wounded. After these disasters, they pursued their enterprise to the Kentucky river, without further molestation.

On the 1st of April, 1775, Boone commenced the erection of a fort, about sixty yards from the river, near one of the salt licks, the very spot upon which Boonesborough now stands.

This rude palisade was finished on the 14th of June of the same year, when he returned to the settlements on Clinch river, for the purpose of removing his family to this distant and uncultivated land. They arrived at the fort without any adventure worthy of note. Mrs. Boone and her daughter were the first of their race and sex that ever stood upon the banks of the Kentucky river.

The Indians were much dissatisfied at the erection of this fort, and on the 14th of December, 1775, made a desperate assault upon its inmates, by which one man was killed and another wounded. After this repulse, and the great loss sustained on this occasion by the Indians, they treacherously appeared to give up all idea of farther molesting the new settlers. Their seeming resignation to the presence of the intruders was persevered in until the 14th of July, 1776, exactly seven months, by which time the inhabitants of the fort were completely thrown off their guard, insomuch that the daughters of the

residents made frequent excursions into the forests in the vicinity. On the day above mentioned, three young ladies, two of them daughters of Colonel Calaway, and the third the daughter of Boone, were leisurely strolling through the woods in the immediate neighborhood of the fort, when they were pursued and captured by a party of Indians, before they could make good their retreat within the gates.

On this occasion the treacherous foe had separated into small parties, as agreed on by previous arrangement, and simultaneously attacked all the other forts and settlements, several of which had sprung up during the long season of tranquillity.

Boone was no sooner apprised of the absence of the young ladies, on his return from hunting, than he promptly and without waiting for the coöperation of his friends, pursued the trail, which he easily discovered. He knew perfectly well, that if he waited to collect a large force, the cunning robbers would be entirely out of his reach. By that sagacity for which he was so remarkable, he was enabled to keep on the trail without the least deviation, and at length he discovered that the fair young captives had themselves preserved sufficient presence of mind to indicate the course of their captors, by snapping a small twig from time to time, as they passed through the shrubbery on their route. At length he came in sight of the kidnappers, and after slaying two of the three, recovered the fair prisoners,* by his single, unaided and unerring rifle.

Hostilities were continued from this time until the 15th of April, 1777, when a simultaneous attack by the united hordes was made upon Boonesborough. The effective force of the savages amounted to about one hundred; in this engagement the whites had one killed and four wounded. July 14th, they made a second assault with double their former number;—the battle lasted forty-eight hours, during which the besieged again lost one man and another was wounded. This too, it appears, was but a part of another simultaneous movement against all the white settlements, as Colonel Logan's fort and others were attacked at the same time.

About the 25th of July, Boone's settlement received an accession of twenty-five men from North Carolina. The sight of these new

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*This, it will appear to the reader, is a very different account of the adventures, from that given in a life of Boone by one of our most distinguished writers. We have followed the account given in Boone's own journal, dictated by himself, and published during his lifetime. This explanation may also suffice for many similar discrepancies in the two accounts.

adventurers was truly welcome to the inhabitants of the town or fort, as it was indifferently called, as their previous losses in battle rendered such an accession of strength almost indispensable to the farther prosecution of the enterprise.

But this deficiency was still more amply supplied, on the 20th of August, when Colonel Bowman, with one hundred men, arrived from Virginia. After this powerful reinforcement, they waited no longer to receive the attacks of the Indians behind their breast-works, but sallied out nearly every day, and drove them from the vicinity.

"The savages now learned the superiority of the *Long Knives*, as they called the Virginians, being out-generaled in almost every battle."

The affairs of the colonists began to wear a brighter aspect; the savages no longer ventured to attack them in open day, but practised cunning devises, laid in ambuscade, and treacherously betrayed the whites on all occasions when they could induce them to listen to their promises of friendship.

On the first of January, 1778, Colonel Boone set out with thirty men, and commenced making salt for the first time in that region, at the Blue Licks, on Licking river. They manufactured a sufficient quantity for all the civilized inhabitants of the infant community.

On the 7th of February, as Colonel Boone was hunting alone through these primitive forests, he was surprised by one hundred Indians, and two Frenchmen.

They took him prisoner: after which he ascertained that they were marching to attack Boonesborough. He immediately capitulated for his followers, now only twenty-seven in number, many of the former company having gone to the settlement with salt.

The Indians carried their prisoners to Old Chilicothe, the principal Indian town on the Little Miami, and according to the terms of capitulation, used them generously. They arrived at Chilicothe on the 18th of February, after having suffered severely with the cold and fatigue of the journey.

On the 10th of March, Boone with ten of his followers, was ordered to Detroit, where they arrived on the 30th, and were treated with great humanity by Governor Hamilton, the British commander at the post.

The Indians set out with Boone, determined to offer him for ransom to the governor, but by the time they arrived at Detroit, they had become so much attached to him that they refused one hundred

pounds sterling, which was offered for his person. They left the other persons and returned with him to Chilicothe. He was now, according to their customs in such cases, regularly adopted into one of the aboriginal families, and he informs us that he became very intimate with his new sisters and brothers, and that his new father and mother were passionately fond of him. By affecting great fondness for their sports, and perfect contentment in his new situation, he was soon permitted to consult his own pleasure as to his time and movements;—their vigilance entirely abated, and after frequently increasing their confidence by returning from long excursions, he at length determined to attempt his escape. This determination was greatly precipitated, however, by a most unexpected incident. While he was thus meditating upon the plan of effecting the long cherished object, he was astonished to see an assemblage of four hundred warriors at Chilicothe. They came to make arrangements for an attack on Boonesborough. Boone no sooner heard their destination, than he determined to anticipate them. Accordingly, on the 16th of June, before sunrise, he escaped, and reached Boonesborough on the 20th, a journey of one hundred and sixty miles, during which he ate but one meal. He found the fortress in a bad state, but immediately set all hands to repairing flanks, gates, and posterns, and also to forming double bastions, all which was completed in less than ten days. Soon after his return, another of the prisoners, who had escaped from Chilicothe, made his appearance, and informed Boone that the Indians had postponed their intended attack for three weeks, in consequence of his escape.

About the 1st of August, Boone set out with nineteen men to surprise an Indian town called Point Creek, situated on the Sciota. Within four miles of their own fort, they met forty Indians on their way to attack them. A desperate engagement immediately ensued, in which Boone and his party came off victorious, and without losing one of their number. They took three horses and all the Indian baggage.

On the 8th of August, Boonesborough was summoned to surrender by the most formidable armament that had ever appeared before its walls. The assailants consisted of four hundred and forty-four Indians, and eleven Frenchmen, the whole commanded by Captain Duquesne, also a Frenchman. Boone requested two days for consideration, which were granted; in the mean time, he brought in through the postern gate all the horses and other cattle that could be collected on the emergency.

On the 9th, in the evening, Boone informed the French commander that he was determined to defend the fort while there was a man capable of handling a rifle.

The Frenchman then proposed a treaty, the articles of which Boone agreed to, and the enemy required that he should come out with nine men and sign it. Boone with the required number issued forth and signed the documents. The Indians then told him that two Indians must shake hands simultaneously with each of his men; that it was a custom of theirs from time immemorial. To this Boone with some reluctance also consented. When the Indians came to perform this part of the ceremony, they found that they had rather underrated the strength of the whites when they matched two Indians to each. As Boone had apprehended, the two savages attempted to hold fast, each couple to their man, but the hardy pioneers threw them off with ease, and rushed to the fort, which was not more than fifty yards distant. In this last attempt, however, one of the nine was unfortunately wounded by a heavy fire, which the enemy showered upon the fugitives.

The Frenchman next attempted to undermine the fort, and commenced operations at the water mark of the Kentucky river. Boone immediately commenced countermining, which the Frenchman no sooner perceived than he gave up the scheme, and on the 20th, raised the siege. During the siege, the beleaguered party had two men killed and four wounded, besides a number of cattle. They killed thirty-nine of the enemy, and wounded a large number.

During the absence of Colonel Boone, or rather during his captivity among the Shawnees, Mrs. Boone and her children, supposing the head of the family slain, returned to the house of Mrs. Boone's father on the Yadkin, in North Carolina. Colonel Boone now determined to return into North Carolina in pursuit of them.

He returned to Boonesborough with his family, after an absence of nearly two years, during which time many important Indian battles were won and lost by the hardy adventurers on the western frontiers. Colonel Boone's brother returned to Kentucky with him, and shortly afterward, as the brothers were returning from the licks, Squire was killed by a shot from the Indians. Colonel Boone escaped after a rapid flight, and killing a dog which the Indians had set upon the trail.

The country began now to assume the appearance of cultivation and civilization, and numbers seeing Boonesborough, and hearing fine accounts of the country, came from Virginia and North Carolina, and settled in the new country.

It would be utterly impossible to give even a synopsis of the many adventures, Indian battles, treaties, and hair-breadth escapes in which the subject of our sketch was engaged during the greater part of the time occupied by the war of Independence. It has been seen that Boone and his companions waged war upon their own account, and in all other respects acted as men alike independent of the restraints and the protection of the social compact; nevertheless, many of his late adventures were more or less connected with the interesting events of that period; to the history of the general transactions on the western frontier, we would refer our readers, our business being purely with the adventures of Daniel Boone.

Many forts were now erected in the vicinity of Boonesborough; every settlement in this new region being generally protected by a palisade or block house. To the defence of these, Boone was often called, and seldom was the call made in vain. He often, during this period, also joined adventurous bands and sallied out into the open field to meet the enemy. Such was the life led by him until the defeat of the Northern Indians by General Wayne, when he again resumed uninterruptedly, the employment in which he delighted. While he was thus engaged a constant stream of emigration had been pouring into this new and attractive region, until April, 1792, when Kentucky was admitted into the Union.

During the time which intervened between Wayne's victory and the establishment of the new state, Virginia had enacted laws, concerning the land titles of the new territory, with which Boone in the simplicity of his heart failed to comply, or if he complied at all, it was done so loosely, that the discoverer of the region was deprived of that very spot for which he had fought so heroically and suffered so much in person and family. These considerations, together with a certain uneasiness at the growing density of the population, induced him again to think of seeking the "far west."

Having lately seen some adventurers returning from an expedition up the Missouri, who described the country bordering on that river in glowing colors, Boone resolved once more to seek a new home in the solitude of the Missouri. Accordingly in 1798, we find him journeying again to the "new land of promise." "Being inquired of as to what induced him to leave all the comforts of home, and so rich and flourishing a country as his dear Kentucky, which he had discovered and helped to win from the Indians, for the wilds of Missouri; 'Too crowded! too crowded! I want more elbow room,' he replied." He proceeded to what is now called St. Charles, about forty-five miles

above St. Louis. Here he found a government somewhat after his own heart, and a country as wild and unreclaimed as he could desire. The only form of government was a sort of military republic, or rather huntsmen's republic, the chief of which was called commandant. To this office Boone was immediately elected. He retained this office until his new home, like the former, became subject to other laws and other councils.

It is certain that Boone, with all the travels and trials, never became very wealthy. In consequence of a defect in his title to lands in Kentucky, he was dispossessed of what was growing to an ample estate, and suddenly became poor. The region he had explored, and helped to defend, now contained a population of half a million, but not an acre of it belonged to him. Indignant, because of the treatment he had received, he shouldered his rifle, left Kentucky forever and with a few followers, plunged into the interminable forests of Missouri, west of the Mississippi.

About the year 1812, Boone addressed a memorial to the legislature of Kentucky, setting forth that he owned not an acre of ground on the face of the earth, and at the age of fourscore had no where to lay his bones. He asked for a confirmation of his title to lands in Louisiana, given him by the Spanish government in 1794, before that territory was ceded to the United States. The legislature instructed their delegates in congress to solicit a confirmation of this grant, and two thousand acres were secured to him.

In 1813 he was overtaken by the heavy calamity of the loss of his wife, the faithful companion who had shared his sorrows. He buried her in the cemetery at Frankfort, Kentucky, where he himself also lies, having died September 26, 1820, at the age of eighty-four. On the occasion of his death, the legislature of Missouri, then in session, agreed to wear the usual badge of mourning for thirty days, as a token of their respect for a man whose name no monumental stone records but who will ever be remembered as the founder of Kentucky.

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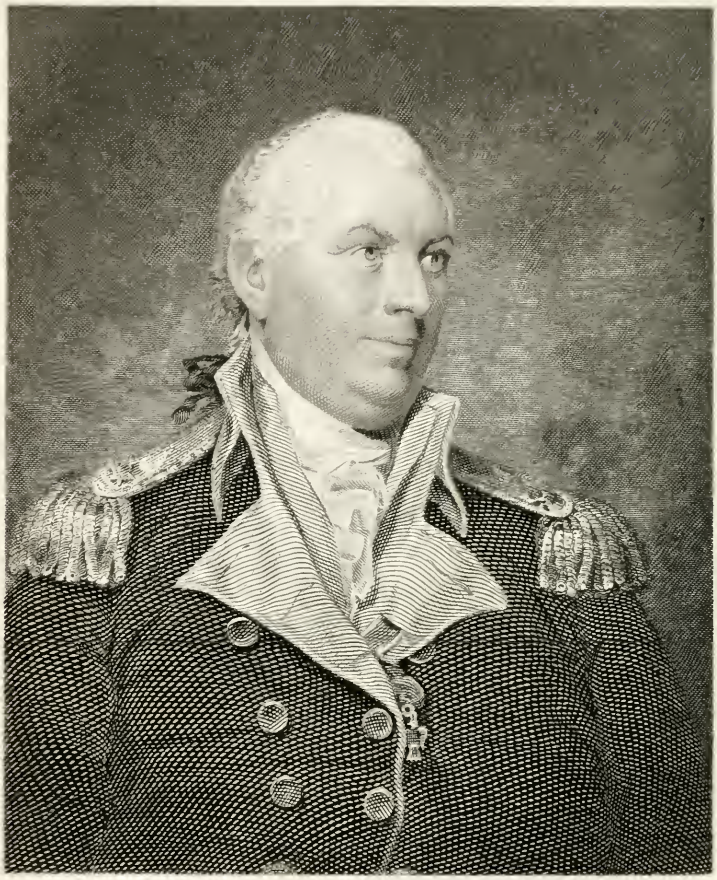

John Barry

JOHN BARRY.

The war of independence was conducted with a very small naval armament, which sprang into existence during its progress, and was indebted for its successes to the genius and prowess which the emergencies of the times developed. John Barry, whose valor and services were eminently conspicuous in that perilous conflict, was born in Ireland, in the county of Wexford, in the year 1745. A passion for a maritime occupation, which he displayed at an early age, induced his father, who was an agriculturist, to place him on board of a merchantman. The intervals of his voyages were assiduously engaged in the improvement of his mind. At the age of fourteen or fifteen, he emigrated to America, and having entered into the employment of the most respectable merchants of this country, continued to pursue his favorite profession with earnestness and signal success. The commencement of the war of indedendence found him a prosperous man, actively employed, and rapidly acquiring wealth. To that contest he could not long remain indifferent. His ardent love of liberty, combined with those admirable qualities which were the foundation of his growing reputation, impelled him to sacrifice the brightest prospects, to embark in the noble, but impoverishing struggle for freedom. He accordingly abandoned, to use his own language, "the finest ship, and the first employ in America," and entered into the service of his adopted country.

In 1776 he was employed by congress to fit for sea, the first fleet that sailed from Philadelphia, and by the authority of the council of safety of that city, he superintended the building of a state ship. In the month of March, of the same year, he was requested to take the command of the brig Lexington, of sixteen guns, and clear the coast of the enemy's small cruisers with which it was infested. He accepted the appointment, although it was destitute of emolument, and notwithstanding a British forty-two gun ship, and two frigates were actively cruising in the capes of the Delaware, he successfully performed the duty assigned to him. He captured some of the enemy's

small cruisers, and compelled the rest to keep in port. Prior to the declaration of independence, he was transferred to the command of the frigate Effingham, and in the succeeding winter he displayed fresh proofs of his enterprising and patriotic spirit. The frigate being useless, in consequence of the suspension of the navigation, he sought other means of aiding the cause which he had espoused. With a mind fruitful of resources as it was daring and skilful in the use of them, he exhibited on land the prowess and sagacity by which he had acquired distinction upon the ocean. Having obtained the command of a company of volunteers, and some heavy cannon, he assisted in the operations at Trenton, and continued with the army during the winter campaign, performing important services, and winning admiration and respect. When the British obtained possession of Philadelphia, he took the frigate up the river Delaware, with the hope of saving her from the enemy. When within a few miles of the city, and in a situation in which, without risk to himself, he might have traitorously advanced the cause of Great Britain, an offer was made to him of fifteen thousand guineas, and the command of the frigate in the king's service, if he would bring in the ship. The bribe was indignantly rejected, and the answer returned by Captain Barry, "that he scorned any offer they could make him." The frigates Washington and Effingham were subsequently burnt by a detachment of soldiers sent by Lord Howe for that purpose.

Whilst Captain Barry was deprived, by the occupation of Philadelphia by the enemy, of an extensive sphere of usefulness, his daring spirit, impatient of restraint and incapable of inactivity, was continually exerting its power in hazardous enterprises. Supplies of provision for the army were, at times of urgent necessity, procured through his instrumentality. On one memorable occasion, he manned two boats belonging to the frigates, and proceeded down the river with such secrecy and despatch, that the first knowledge of his expedition was conveyed to the enemy by the destruction of their vessels. Consternation and dismay agitated the hostile ranks, and facilitated the work of ruin which marked his rapid progress. Two large ships, and a schooner carrying eight guns and thirty-two men, were taken and destroyed. The courage which inspired the small, but heroic band, is not alone sufficient to account for his wonderful success, but it must be ascribed to a combination of daring bravery and consummate skill, by which the diminutive power under his control was directed with unerring rapidity and irresistible force.

The trophies of his valor, productive of no personal benefit to himself, nor calculated for mere display, consisted of articles eminently serviceable to the American army, which was then in great want of them.

In September, 1778, he was appointed to the command of the frigate Raleigh, of thirty-two guns, which then lay at Boston, and on the 25th, went to sea. He was not long upon the ocean before his courage and abilities were subjected to a new trial by the appearance of a British fleet, from which he in vain endeavored to escape. With the view of getting into a harbor he sailed for land, which he succeeded in approaching, the enemy being in full chase; but to his infinite grief not a man on board was acquainted with the coast, or knew of a harbor in the vicinity, so that before he could reach a place of security, the smallest of the hostile ships was within gunshot. Believing that he was a match for her, he ordered the American colors to be hoisted and a gun fired. The St. George's ensign was immediately exhibited by the enemy, and the ships exchanged broadsides as they crossed each other. A warm action ensued which lasted for about seven hours. Being obliged to carry all the sail that he could to keep clear of the large ship, by an unforeseen accident, the fore-top-mast, the main-top-gallant-mast, jib and fore-stay-sail of the Raleigh went over the side and rendered four of the guns useless. It was with difficulty, in a warm engagement, that the ship could be freed from the encumbrance of the wreck. Finding it impossible to escape with his ship, his next expedient was to board the vessel with which he was engaged, before the large one could come up, but the enemy perceiving the project, and having the command of his ship, shot ahead and went to the windward, where he remained during the rest of the engagement. The enemy at length retired, apparently much injured, and made signals, supposed to be of distress. Captain Barry now determined to run the Raleigh ashore, but before this could be accomplished, the battle was renewed by both of the enemy's vessels, which lasted for half an hour before the Raleigh struck the ground, and a quarter of an hour afterwards, when the British ships retired and came to, half a mile astern of the Raleigh. Captain Barry now discovered that he was on a desolate island, or rather a barren rock, about twelve leagues from the main land, with the wind right ahead to interpose another obstacle to their reaching the shore. He, however, succeeded in saving eighty-five of his men, and but for an act of treachery would have destroyed the ship; a midshipman having been left to set fire to the combustibles, whilst

the master with a boat's crew waited to carry him ashore. He faithlessly extinguished the lights, and the master having waited until daylight, found it necessary to retire, the enemy being within sight. The conduct of Captain Barry was submitted to the examination of a court martial, and the loss of a ship so valiantly defended, did not impair the confidence of his country.

His services were afterwards actively employed in several voyages to the West Indies; and in 1781, he took the command of the frigate Alliance of thirty-six guns. In February of that year, he sailed from Boston for L'Orient, to which place he carried Colonel Laurens, who was on an embassy to the French court, and subsequently cruised with great success until the 29th of May, when it was his fortune to come in contact with two British vessels, the Atalanta, Captain Edwards, and her consort, the brig Trepasa, Captain Smith. He ordered them to haul down their colors, which not being done, the battle commenced. A dead calm left the Alliance floating on the water like a log, whilst the enemy, by means of sweeps were enabled to command their movements. They accordingly selected a position in which the guns of the Alliance could do them the least injury. In the midst of the engagement, Captain Barry received a wound on the left shoulder, and after remaining upon deck for some time, the loss of blood rendered it necessary for him to be carried below. The colors of the Alliance having been shot away in the interval of loading the guns, the enemy supposed that she had struck. One of the lieutenants went to Captain Barry and represented the great injury which the ship had sustained, and the difficulties with which they were contending, and asked whether they should surrender. "No!" said the hero, "if the ship can't be fought without, I will be carried on deck." The reply communicated to the crew, animated them to renewed exertions. A favorable wind enabled the Alliance to pour a broadside into the enemy, and before the dressing of the gallant captain's wounds would permit him to reach the deck, both of the hostile vessels, after a battle which had lasted nearly the whole of the day, had struck their flags. The loss on board of the Alliance was eleven killed, and twenty-one wounded. The ship was much injured in her rigging and hull. The enemy had an equal number killed, and thirty wounded.

In the succeeding fall, Captain Barry was ordered to refit the Alliance for the purpose of carrying the Marquis de Lafayette and Count Noailles to France on public business. After accomplishing

that object, she sailed for Havana and cruised with her usual success until March, 1782, when another conflict with the enemy acquired fresh laurels for her intrepid commander. The Alliance during that month left the Havana for the purpose of convoying the American sloop of war Luzerne, Captain Greene, having on board a large amount of specie, the safety of which was of the utmost importance to the country. The appearance of a British squadron proved a severe trial of the naval skill and dauntless courage of Captain Barry. The largest of the enemy's vessels sailed with equal rapidity with the Luzerne, whilst the English sloop surpassed her, and was making rapid advances to an apparently easy conquest. The Luzerne was lightened by throwing her guns overboard, to furnish her with a better opportunity of escaping. The specie was removed to the Alliance, and the condition of the Luzerne seemed so hopeless that her abandonment by the Alliance was resolved upon, as affording the only prospect of saving the valuable treasures from the grasp of the enemy. But the spirit which animated the naval hero, and which had borne him triumphantly through many dangers, impelled him to rush to the rescue. Those great abilities which had been so often signally displayed in the most hazardous emergencies, were at that critical period exhibited in more than their usual lustre. Captain Barry took his station on the weather quarter of the Luzerne, and as the British sloop endeavored to close with her, he bore down and engaged her before the other ships had time to come to her relief. The coolness of Captain Barry was eminently conspicuous; by his example and exhortation, he inspired his men with that heroic courage which filled his own breast. The guns of the enemy had been kept actively employed from the commencement; the fire of the Alliance was rendered more effective by being reserved until she was within a very short distance of the British sloop. The action lasted for about three quarters of an hour, when the enemy retired and made signals of distress to her consorts. A sail, which had appeared in sight prior to the engagement, was now discovered to be a French frigate. The united forces gave chase to the British, which was continued until they lost sight of them in the darkness of the night, when the Alliance, being at a considerable distance ahead of her companions, it was deemed prudent to join them. The loss on board the Alliance was three killed and eleven wounded, whilst the enemy had thirty-seven killed and fifty wounded. The specie that was saved contributed to found the bank of North America. The British officers on various occasions indulged in

generous feelings when describing their defeat, and applauding the wonderful skill and intrepidity by which the Luzerne was rescued.

Captain BARRY continued in the public service after the close of the war, and contributed to the introduction of a superior model for ships, and of naval arrangements which have often supplied the want of numerical force in the American navy. Under Mr. Adams' administration, he superintended the building of the frigate United States, of which he retained the command until she was laid up in ordinary during the administration of Mr. Jefferson. During the French war he was busily employed in protecting our commerce from depredation.

The active and useful life of this distinguished hero, was closed by an asthmatic affection with which he had been for many years afflicted. He died at Philadelphia on the 13th of September, 1803.

His private life was as estimable, as his public career was brilliant. In his domestic relations he was ingenuous, frank, and affectionate. In his intercourse with mankind, his deportment procured an extensive circle of friends. Deeply impressed with religion, he exacted an observance of its ceremonies and duties on board of his ship, as well as in the retirement of private life. His lofty feelings of honor secured the confidence of the most illustrious men of the nation, and gave him an extensive influence in the various spheres in which his active life required him to move. The regard and admiration of General Washington, which he possessed to an eminent extent, were among the enviable fruits of his patriotic career. His public services were not limited by any customary rule of professional duty, but without regard to expense, danger, or labor, his devotion to his country kept him constantly engaged in disinterested acts of public utility.

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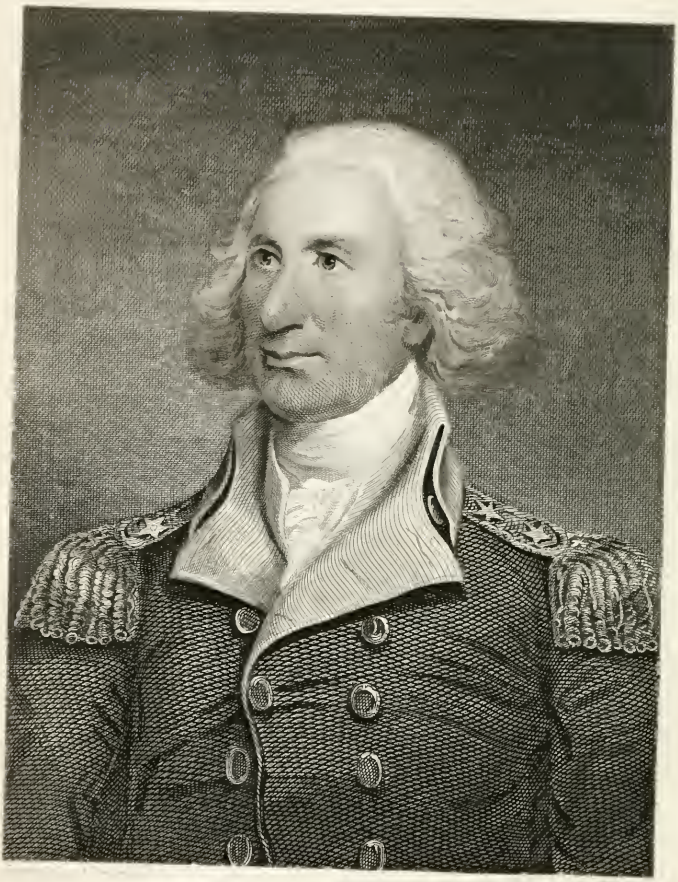

MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER.

Ph: Schuyler

PHILIP SCHUYLER.

Among the patriots of the American revolution, who asserted the rights of their country in council, and equally vindicated its cause in the field, the name of Philip Schuyler stands preëminent. In acuteness of intellect, profound thought, indefatigable activity, exhaustless energy, pure patriotism, and persevering and intrepid public efforts, he had no superior; and it is to be regretted that the limits assigned to each portion of biography in the present work, will permit only a rapid sketch of his distinguished services.

General Schuyler was descended from Dutch ancestors, and born at Albany the 22d November, 1733. His paternal grandfather, Colonel Peter Schuyler, was mayor of that city, and commander of the northern militia in 1690. He was also agent of Indian affairs, and presiding member of the provincial council. John Schuyler, his father, left five children, and though as heir at law, his son Philip was entitled to the real estate, he generously shared the inheritance with his brothers and sister. The Saratoga estate, of which the British army, in 1777, made such sad havoc, he inherited from his father's brother. Being deprived of his father while young, he was indebted to his mother, Cornelia Van Cortlandt Schuyler, a lady of strong and cultivated mind, for his early education, and those habits of business, and that unshaken probity, which never forsook him. At the age of sixteen, he was martyr to an hereditary gout, which confined him, while at school at New Rochelle, to his room for nearly a year. But he was still able to prosecute his studies, and to acquire in that period the use of the French language. His learning was of a solid and practical character. His favorite studies were mathematics, and the other exact sciences, and he was enabled in after life to display unusual skill in finance, and as a civil and military engineer, and in all the leading topics of political economy.

He entered the army when the French war broke out in 1755, and commanded a company in the New York levies, which attended Sir William Johnson to Fort Edward and Lake George. He was

employed that year in rendering Fort Edward a safe depot of military stores. In 1758 his talents and activity attracted the attention of Lord Viscount Howe, who commanded at Albany the first division of the British army of four thousand men, then preparing for an expedition to Canada. Being in great difficulty in respect to supplies and the means of transportation, Lord Howe had the discernment to select and employ young SCHUYLER in the commissariat department. When it was suggested to him that he was confiding in too young a man for so important a service, he declared that he relied on the practical knowledge and activity of SCHUYLER, and was convinced that he would be enabled to surmount all obstacles. The event justified the choice. The duty was discharged with that sound judgment and calculating precision, that were so often and so signally displayed in his subsequent career. The army under the command of General Abercrombie arrived at the north end of Lake George, early in July, and when Lord Howe fell in a conflict with the French advanced guard, SCHUYLER was directed to cause the body of that lamented young nobleman to be conveyed to Albany and buried there with appropriate honors. He continued afterwards during the war to be employed in the commissary department.

After the peace of 1763, Colonel SCHUYLER (for by that title he was then known) was called into the service of the colony, in various civil employments. He was one of the commissioners appointed by the general assembly, in 1764, to manage the controversy on the part of New York, respecting the partition line between that colony and Massachusetts Bay; and he was actively engaged in that discussion in 1767, with associates and opponents of the first rank and character. In 1768, he was elected a member of the general assembly, for the city and county of Albany, and he continued a member until the colonial legislature, in April 1775, terminated its existence forever. A seat in the assembly at that day, was very important, and an evidence of character as well as influence, inasmuch as the members were few, and chosen exclusively by freeholders, and held their seats for seven years. The services which Colonel SCHUYLER rendered in that station, and the talents, zeal, and intrepidity which he displayed in asserting the constitutional rights of the colonies, and in resisting the claims of the British parliament, and of the colonial governor and council, may be considered as having laid the solid foundation for those marks of distinguished honor and confidence, which his countrymen were afterwards so prompt to bestow. The majority of that assembly were favorable to the interest of the

crown, and they continually checked the bold measures of the whigs in their determined opposition to the claims of the parent power. A very difficult, arduous, and responsible duty was imposed upon Colonel SCHUYLER and his leading associates, who were in the minority. It was in the closing scenes of that body, in the winter and spring of 1775, amid the expiring struggles of the ministerial party to uphold the tottering fabric of the British colonial administration, that the talents, zeal, and firmness of the minority shone with the brightest lustre. Every successive motion for several weeks, to give a legislative sanction to the proceedings of the continental congress of 1774, was negatived. But the spirit and resolution of SCHUYLER, as well as of his distinguished companions, George Clinton, Nathaniel Woodhull, Colonel Tenbroeck, and Colonel Philip Livingston, gained strength by defeat, and arose with increasing vigor suitable to the difficulties and solemnity of the crisis. On the 3d of March, eleven distinct divisions on so many different resolutions were taken and entered at large on the journals. The persevering efforts of the minority, and the energy of public opinion fairly dismayed the ministerial majority, and they were impelled, as well from a regard to their own character, as from a sense of what was loudly called for, and due to the occasion, to introduce and sustain sundry measures, which, though rather too tame and loyal for the vehement spirit of the times, yet contained an explicit condemnation of certain acts of parliament, as being public grievances, and dangerous to the rights and liberties of America.

The great scenes of the revolution were now unfolding, and the eyes of his fellow citizens were instantly turned to Colonel SCHUYLER, as one on whom their highest hopes of confidence were placed. He was elected a delegate to the continental congress which assembled in May, 1775, and he had scarcely taken his seat in that assembly, when he was appointed the third major-general of the American army. His services were now to be transferred from the cabinet to the field, and he immediately entered upon his new theatre of action, with surprising promptitude and vigor.

On the 25th of June, he was charged by General Washington with the command of the army in the province of New York, and in his first general orders announcing the command, he at once enjoined order, discipline, neatness, economy, exactness, sobriety, obedience; and that the troops must show to the world that "in contending for liberty, they abhor licentiousness—that in resisting the misrule of tyrants, they will support government honestly ad-

ministered." He directed his attention specially to the northern frontiers, and called upon the commanding officer there for exact information and specific details, on every subject connected with his command. He was directed by congress, as early as the 1st of July, to repair to the forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and make preparations to secure the command of the lake, and, "if practicable and expedient, to take possession of St. Johns, Montreal, and Quebec." He at once communicated vigor and rapid motion to every part of his command, and his orders upon all the details involved in preparations for the campaign were exact and specific. But the difficulties in an expedition to Canada without the materials, the equipments, and the habits of war, were clearly perceived by him, and strongly felt; and he surmounted them with a rapidity and success that no other individual could at that period have performed. Before the end of August four regiments moved down the lake from Ticonderoga, under the command of Brigadier-General Montgomery. To add to his other distresses, General SCHUYLER at that crisis was taken down with sickness, and confined in bed with a fever. He nevertheless followed his friend Montgomery, and was carried in a batteaux to the isle Au Noix, where he established his head-quarters on the 8th of September. He was there reduced to a skeleton by a complication of disorders, and was obliged in ten days to return and leave Montgomery, much to the regret of the latter, to command the Canadian expedition. "All my ambition," said that excellent man, and chivalric hero, "is to do my duty in a subordinate capacity, without the least ungenerous intention of lessening the merit so justly your due." General SCHUYLER'S services were not lost on his return to Ticonderoga. They were invaluable on the all-important subject of supplies. General Montgomery declared, in his letters of the 6th and 9th of October, that SCHUYLER'S foresight and diligence after his return, had saved the expedition. So wisely and promptly did he exert his feeble health, but vigorous mind, to restore order and accelerate supplies of food and clothing to the army, then estimated at three thousand five hundred men, and occupied before St. Johns. No general had greater difficulties to contend with, than Montgomery during his short and disastrous campaign. The effort was too great for his means. There was a deficiency of specie, and military equipments of every kind, and a want of discipline, subordination, economy, and probity, in the various branches of the service. These embarrassments subdued the patience and generous temper of Montgomery, and he frequently in his letters avowed his fixed

determination to retire from the service at the end of the campaign. The friendship of the Canadians was to be preserved at all events, and private property sacredly protected, and all Canadian supplies punctually paid for in gold and silver. Congress had attached the utmost importance to the expedition, and expected from the exertions of SCHUYLER, that Canada might be induced to accede to the union of the colonies.

His very impaired health rendered General SCHUYLER's situation oppressive. He was charged with the duty of supplying the Canadian army with recruits, provisions, clothing, arms, and money, and to do it adequately was beyond his power. He was obliged to apply to congress for leave to retire. But his application was not listened to, and on the 30th of November, congress resolved that his conduct, attention, and perseverance, merited the thanks of the united colonies. They expressed, through president Hancock, their "greatest concern and sympathy for his loss of health, and requested that he would not insist on a measure which would deprive America of his zeal and abilities, and rob him of the honor of completing the glorious work which he had so happily and successfully begun." General Washington, who always maintained a close and constant correspondence with SCHUYLER, expressed the same regret and desire, and in his letters of the 5th and 24th December, conjured both him and Montgomery to lay aside all such thoughts of retirement, "alike injurious to themselves, and excessively so to the country. They had not a difficulty to contend with, that he had not in an eminent degree experienced." Who can withhold his unqualified admiration of the man, who gave such advice, at such a crisis! To his incomparable fortitude and inflexible firmness America owes her national existence.

General SCHUYLER determined to continue in the service, and especially, as he said, after the fall of his "amiable friend Montgomery, who had given him so many proofs of the goodness of his heart, and who, as he greatly fell in his country's cause, was more to be envied than lamented." The distressed condition of the northern army in the winter and spring of 1776, was quite unparalleled in the history of the revolution. General SCHUYLER was roused to the utmost limit of exertion in his endeavors to relieve it, by collecting and despatching men, provisions, arms, and military and naval equipments to the northern posts, and to the army. His attention was directed to every quarter, exacting vigilance, order, economy, and prompt execution in all the complicated concerns of the de

partment. His duty was more arduous and difficult; it was inexpressibly vexatious, and could not be sternly and effectually performed without collisions, provoking jealous and angry feelings, and requiring large sacrifices of transient popularity. With his exhausted and debilitated frame of body, every person who saw him, concluded that he must soon sink under the pressure of his duties. His incessant correspondence with congress was full of the best practical advice. At that crisis, congress multiplied his concerns to an overwhelming degree. On the 8th of January, he was required to cause the River St. Lawrence, above and below Quebec, to be well explored. He was to fill up blank commissions for the Canada regiments in his discretion. He was to establish an accountability for the waste of the public supplies. He was to put Ticonderoga in a defencible condition. But the army in Canada engrossed his attention. After the death of Montgomery, the command devolved on Brigadier-General Wooster. The most alarming, and next to the want of provisions, the most distressing deficiency in the northern army, was in muskets, ammunition, and cannon. The call was also loud and incessant for specie, and General Schuyler went so far, as to raise, on his own personal security, £2,100, York currency, in gold and silver, for that service. Nothing shows more strikingly the want of arms than the fact that even General Washington, in his camp at Cambridge, applied to Schuyler for assistance in that particular. "Your letters and mine," said the former, "seem echoes to each other, enumerating our mutual difficulties."

Great apprehension was entertained at this eventful moment, for the disaffected inhabitants in the Mohawk country under the influence of Sir John Johnson, and congress directed General Schuyler to cause the tories in that quarter to be disarmed, and their leaders secured. He accordingly marched into that country, in the month of January, and executed the service with such zeal, despatch, and discretion, as to receive the special approbation of congress.

On the 17th February, Major-General Lee was appointed to the command of the northern army, and Schuyler was to take his place at New York. This alteration was made, as the president of congress assured him, from the conviction that his infirm state of health was not equal to a winter's campaign in the severe climate of Canada. But the wants of the northern army with the supply of which Schuyler was still charged, were so varied and urgent, that he was obliged to confine his head-quarters to Albany; and they were again established there by a resolution of congress of the 6th of March

and that resolution continued in force until May, 1777. The arduous business of supplying an army with food, clothing, and military equipments, though less captivating in its results, is often much more conducive to the safety and success of a campaign, than prowess in the field. General SCHUYLER, by his thorough business habits, his exactness in detail, his keen forecast, his calculating skill, and his fiery vehemence in action, was admirably fitted for either branch of military service; and no person who has studied these campaigns thoroughly, can fail to be convinced, that his versatile talents were fitted equally for investigation and action.

General Lee being sent to the south, Major-General Thomas was, on the 6th of March, appointed to the command of the army in Canada, but with a reliance, as congress declared, on the efforts of General SCHUYLER, "for perfecting the work so conspicuously begun, and so well directed under his orders, the last campaign." Congress, throughout the winter and spring of 1776, continued to consider the possession of Canada and the command of the lake as objects of the first necessity.

When General Thomas succeeded to the command, the army in Canada was extremely weak and in great distress. It was surrounded with difficulties and perils threatening its annihilation. The best intelligence and efforts were called for. Between the 18th of April, and the 11th of July, General SCHUYLER was at the upper posts at Fort George, Ticonderoga, and Crown Point, active to an amazing degree in directing and stimulating efforts to relieve the army. His wisdom had anticipated the distress, and if congress had complied with his repeated solicitations long before made for large reinforcements, and military means, the most grievous misfortunes in Canada would have been prevented. As early as November 1775, he made earnest suggestions to that effect. After the fall of Montgomery, General Arnold, then before Quebec, gave similar advice, and stated that congress must not think of sending less than eight or ten thousand men. The force and the means were always inadequate to the object, so long as the Canadians remained passive. Congress imputed the failure of the expedition to short enlistments, the want of hard money, and the small force. But other powerful causes operated, such as the want of men and arms, and discipline, and subordination.

On the death of General Thomas, on the 2d of June, Brigadier-General Sullivan succeeded to the command, and the distress and disorganization of the army had then arrived to the utmost height.

All hopes of retaining Canada were gone, and no alternative was left but to make the safest and most expeditious retreat. Regiments were reduced to skeletons. The soldiers became desperate and deserted. "Upwards of forty officers," said Sullivan, "begged leave to resign on the most frivolous pretences." General SCHUYLER gave directions, on the 20th of June, to abandon Canada, and return up the lake. This was accordingly done. General Sullivan left the Sorrell with only two thousand five hundred and thirty-three men, and on the 1st of July, he reached Crown Point with the remains of the army, broken down by sickness, disorder, and discord. The retreat, says SCHUYLER, was conducted with prudence and discernment, and reflected honor upon that commander. At Crown Point, Sullivan met General Gates, who, though a junior officer, was appointed to that command, and Sullivan retired from the department in disgust.

The expedition to Canada having thus miserably terminated, the next great object of SCHUYLER's attention, was to secure the forts on the lake, and to command its waters, as well as to attend to other pressing objects in his widely extended department. On the 14th of June, he had been required by congress to hold a treaty with the six nations of Indians—to fortify Fort Stanwix—to open a military road from Fort Edward—to clear Wood Creek—to establish a canal lock at Skeensborough—to equip a flotilla on Lake Champlain, and to fortify Crown Point or Mount Independence at his discretion. Though he was again visited with the return of the fever of the last season, which served to annoy and dishearten him, his exertions continued unremitted. Crown Point was abandoned by the unanimous advice of a council of his general officers, as not tenable with their present force and means. The act was at first inconsiderately censured, but his clear and skilful reasons for the measure, satisfied the mind of Washington. A flotilla of sixteen vessels was created and equipped for service on the lake by the latter end of August, after infinite embarrassments, and he assigned the command of it to General Arnold, who was active and intrepid. That officer was met, on the 16th of October, by a much superior and better manned English squadron, and after brave and unavailing resistance, his little fleet was defeated and totally destroyed. This put an end to the northern campaign, for the garrison at Ticonderoga and its dependencies, consisting of nine thousand men, was left by General SCHUYLER under the subordinate command of Gates, and they were not disturbed.

In August, General SCHUYLER held a treaty on the upper Mohawk, with the six Indian nations. The negotiation was of the utmost importance, and that service was of the greatest value. But the presence and maintenance of one thousand eight hundred savages, during a protracted and difficult negotiation was excessively vexatious. The hostile Indians were induced to promise neutrality, and congress afterwards gave their explicit approbation to the trans action.

In the discharge of duty amid such conflicting and harassing services, General SCHUYLER had excited much popular jealousy and ill-will, arising from the energy of his character, and the dignity of his deportment. The loss of the Canadian campaign was imputed to him. He was disgusted, not only with the want of public candor and gratitude, but even with the want of courtesy and respect towards him by congress, in the irregular appointment of junior officers to separate and independent commands within his military department. Accordingly, on the 14th of September, he tendered once more to congress the resignation of his commission. They resolved that they could not consent to accept his resignation in the then situation of affairs, and they assured him that they bore their willing testimony to his services, and that no aspersions on his character had any influence on their minds. He then resumed his duties with his wonted zeal and energy, and made every manly effort consistent with his station and character, to cultivate unity of views and harmony in his department, and to shew a kind and generous spirit to all his subordinate officers, and particularly to General Gates, who did not meet him with the like magnanimity. Gates had been even rebuked by the commissioners from congress, who visited Canada in the spring of 1776, for his suspicious and unkind feelings towards General SCHUYLER. Charles Carroll of Carrollton (*nomen venerabile*) in his letter to Gates of the 14th of June, "begged that his suspicions might not prejudice him against SCHUYLER, for he was confident he was an active and deserving officer." Samuel Chase, another commissioner, in his letter of the same date, recommended to General Gates to place "the most unreserved and unlimited confidence in SCHUYLER. Be assured, sir, of his integrity, diligence, abilities, and address."

During the past year General SCHUYLER had extended his views forward to the future, and had repeatedly recommended to congress, and particularly in his letters of the 29th of August, and 16th of October, to make large preparations on land and water, to meet the

exigencies of the next northern campaign. On the 11th of November and 2d December he submitted to congress a plan of operations for the ensuing year, both at the north and on the Hudson, and pointed out what was requisite in troops, provisions, artillery, ammunition, fortifications, and naval force. He informed General Washington on the 30th January, 1777, that the ensuing campaign would require at Ticonderoga, ten thousand men, besides two thousand men more, for the several points of communication, and for Fort Schuyler on the Mohawk. His orders to every branch of his department, and his advice to congress, to General Washington, to the authorities in the New England states, and in his own state, were comprehensive, provident, wise, skilful, patriotic, and almost incessant. He did all that the efforts of any one individual could do for the public service, until the 20th of March, when he went to Philadelphia and found himself superseded in effect by General Gates, in his northern command. The orders he had given for the security of Ticonderoga, and the letters he had written to that effect prior to that event, would fill a volume.

He took his seat in congress as a delegate from New York, and at his request, a committee of inquiry was instituted to examine into his military conduct. The satisfaction afforded was prompt and complete, and by the resolution of congress of the 22d of May, he was directed to resume the command of the northern department of New York, consisting of Albany, Ticonderoga, Fort Stanwix, and their dependencies. During the interval of two months that he was in Philadelphia, he was bestowing on the public interests, his usual vigilance. Being the second major-general in the armies of the United States, (General Lee only being his superior,) he was in active command on the Delaware, directing fortifications, and accelerating troops and provisions to the commander-in-chief. He also contributed most essentially while in congress to reorganize the commissary department.

But the storm that was gathering on the frontiers of his native state, soon engrossed all his attention, and he went into the command with an ardor and vigor that can scarcely be conceived. He arrived in Albany on the 3d of June, where he met General Gates. The latter, offended with congress for not allowing him to remain commander-in-chief at the north, and unwilling at any rate to serve under SCHUYLER, who offered him the command at Ticonderoga, he, at his own request, had leave to withdraw from the department. Nothing, literally nothing, he observed, had been done during his

absence, to improve the means of defence on the frontiers. Nothing had been done, comparatively speaking, to supply Ticonderoga with provisions. But General Schuyler was fortunately at this season in good health, a blessing which he had not enjoyed the last two years. He now displayed his activity, fervor, and energy in a brilliant manner. General St. Clair was placed by him in the command at Ticonderoga, and specially directed to fortify Mount Independence. He informed Congress, on the 14th of June, that considering the extensiveness of the works at Ticonderoga, the smallness of the garrison was alarming, and incompetent to maintain it, and that he found the department in the greatest confusion. Application was made to the eastern states to hasten on the remainder of their troops, and he informed them that the garrison at Ticonderoga did not then exceed two thousand two hundred men, sick included. On the 16th of June, General Washington was apprised by him of the fact that he had no troops to oppose to Sir John Johnson on the Mohawk. He visited Ticonderoga and Mount Independence on the 20th, and found them not in a good state of defence, and very deficient in troops and provisions; but it was resolved, at a council of officers called by him, that they be defended as long as possible. General Schuyler then hastened back to the Hudson, the more effectually to provide for the garrison, reinforcements of provisions and men, and nothing conducive to that great object was omitted. He solicited reinforcements of every kind with intense anxiety. On the 28th of June, he communicated by expresses to General Washington, to the governor of Connecticut, to the president of Massachusetts, to the committee of Berkshire, and to the committee of safety of New York, his apprehensions for the safety of the garrison at Ticonderoga, from the inadequacy of the means of defence. On the 28th and 30th of June, (for dates now become important,) he encouraged St. Clair, that he should move up with the continental troops and militia, as soon as he could possibly set them in motion, and "he hoped to have the pleasure of seeing him in possession of his post." So again on the 5th of July, he assured him the troops from Peekskill, and the militia were in motion, and "he hoped to see him in a day or two." On the 7th, he informed General Washington by letter, that he was up as far as Saratoga, with about seven hundred continental troops, and about one thousand four hundred militia. He was then in the utmost distress for provisions, and he then and there met the news, that General St. Clair had abandoned

Ticonderoga and Mount Independence on the 6th, with the loss of all his military equipments.

These posts were evacuated upon the advice of a council of officers, founded on the extreme weakness of the garrison, the extensiveness of the works, and an insufficiency of provisions. But General SCHUYLER had given no order for the evacuation. It was done without his advice, direction, or knowledge. It was as much a matter of surprise to him, as to the country. He expected to have been able in a few days to have joined General St. Clair with a very considerable body of troops, and he observed most truly in a letter of the 14th of July, to Chief Justice Jay, "that if Ticonderoga was not sufficiently fortified and supplied with provisions, it was not his fault; if there was a want of men he was not to blame."

The last scene of General SCHUYLER's military life, was full of action befitting the occasion, and worthy of his character. Every quarter of his department was replete with difficulty and danger. The frontier on the Mohawk was menaced by an army of one thousand six hundred regulars, tories, and Indians, under Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger, and he cheered and encouraged Brigadier-General Herkimer to rouse the militia, and act with alacrity in defence of that frontier. He addressed the civil and military authorities in every direction, with manly firmness, and the most forcible exhortation to assist him with men, arms, and provisions, "every militia man," he said, "ought to turn out without delay, in a crisis the most alarming since the contest began." He directed that the inhabitants retire from before the enemy, and that every article be brought off or destroyed, that was calculated to assist them—that the roads, causeways, and Wood Creek be rendered impassable. He issued a proclamation to encourage the country, and counteract that of Burgoyne. He assured General Washington, on the 12th of July, that he should retard the enemy's advance by all possible means. "If my countrymen will support me with vigor and dexterity, and do not meanly despond, we shall be able to prevent the enemy from penetrating much further into the country."

St. Clair had not above three thousand five hundred men when he evacuated Ticonderoga, and he joined SCHUYLER with only one thousand five hundred, as the militia, almost to a man, had deserted him, and gone home. Nixon's and Glover's brigades had been ordered by General Washington from Peekskill, to reinforce SCHUYLER, and when the former brigade arrived on the 14th of July, it amounted only to five hundred and seventy-five men, so that Gene-

ral SCHUYLER's whole strength did not then exceed four thousand five hundred men, including regulars and militia; and they were without shelter, or artillery, and sickness, distress and desertion prevailed. The enemy whose triumphant progress he had to check, amounted to upwards of six thousand regular troops, with the best equipments in arms and artillery. Fort George was abandoned on the 14th of July, for it was utterly indefensible, being only part of an unfinished bastion holding one hundred and fifty men. On the 24th of July, SCHUYLER retired with his army to More's Creek, four miles below Fort Edward, as the latter was only a heap of ruins, and always commanded by the neighboring hills. The enemy kept pressing upon his advanced posts, but in the midst of unparalleled difficulties, his retreat was slow and safe, and every inch of ground disputed. The distress of the army, in want of artillery and every other military and comfortable equipment, was aggravated by despondency and sickness, and the restlessness and insubordination of the militia. They could not be detained. Almost all the eastern militia had left the army. By the advice of a council of general officers, SCHUYLER was obliged to let one half of the militia go home under a promise of the residue to continue for three weeks. Though the subject of popular calumny, he did not in the least despond or shrink from his duty. "I shall go on," he writes to General Washington, "in doing my duty, and in endeavors to deserve your esteem." He renewed his call on the eastern states for assistance, and told his friend, Governor Trumbull of Connecticut, (whom he always mentioned with the highest esteem, and between whom a mutual confidence and attachment had invariably subsisted,) that "if the eastern militia did not turn out with spirit, and behave better, we should be ruined." The greatest reliance was placed on the efforts of his own more immediate countrymen, and his most pathetic and eloquent appeals were made to the council of safety of the state of New York, for succors to enable him to meet the enemy in the field. By the beginning of August, he was preparing to act on the offensive, and by his orders of the 30th of July and 13th of August. General Lincoln was directed to move with a body of troops to the north of Cambridge, towards Skeensborough, and take command of the troops under General Stark, and Colonel Warner, who had orders to join him; and if he should have force enough, to fall on the enemy in that quarter. As Burgoyne advanced down the Hudson, there was constant skirmishing at the advanced posts, and General SCHUYLER retreated slowly, and in good order down to Saratoga, and then to

and below Stillwater, and in every instance by the unanimous advice of his officers.

During this eventful period, the western branch of SCHUYLER'S military district was in the utmost consternation and peril. The army under St. Leger had besieged Fort Stanwix, and General Herkimer, with eight hundred of the frontier militia, marching to the relief of the fortress, was attacked by a detachment of the enemy, under Sir John Johnson, and defeated at Oriskany, on the 6th of August. On the 16th, General SCHUYLER despatched Arnold with three regiments, amounting in the whole only to five hundred and fifty men, to take charge of the military operations on the Mohawk.

But the period of his eminent services was drawing to a close. Congress, yielding to the clamor and calumny of the people and militia of the eastern states, suspended General SCHUYLER'S command, and on the 19th of August, (three days after the victory at Bennington,) General Gates arrived in camp, and superseded him. General SCHUYLER felt acutely the discredit of being recalled in the most critical period of the campaign, and after the labor and activity of making preparations to repair the disasters of it, had been expended by him, and when he was in vigorous preparation to win, and almost in the act to place the laurels of victory on his brow. "I am sensible," said this great and injured man, in his letter to congress, "of the indignity of being ordered from the command of the army, at a time when an engagement must soon take place;" and when, we may add, he had already commenced offensive operations, and laid the foundation of future and glorious triumphs.

Though he was directed by the order of congress of the 1st of August, to repair to head-quarters, he was afterwards allowed by the resolution of congress of the 14th November, to attend to his private affairs, "as they had greatly suffered by the barbarous ravages of the British army," until the committee of inquiry were ready to act. This preëminent patriot, statesman, and soldier, rising above all mean resentments, continued his correspondence with congress, and afforded his valuable counsel. He even tendered to them his gratuitous services as a private gentleman, in any way in which he could be useful. As president of the board of commissioners for Indian affairs, he gave specific advice respecting the conduct of the six nations, and he recommended preparations to carry the war into their territories; and his counsel eventually terminated in the expedition under General Sullivan, in 1779.

After long and painful delays, in which his eastern enemies, both in and out of Congress, had full opportunity to search for testimony against him, he was gratified with being able to have his military conduct tested before a court-martial, in October, 1778. He was tried and acquitted "with the highest honor" of every charge preferred against him, notwithstanding congress had eight months previously, appointed "two counsellors, learned in the law, to assist and coöperate with the judge-advocate in conducting the trial." The sentence was of course confirmed by congress, and though it was the desire of his friends, and particularly of General Washington, who, in January, 1779, stated to him that "it was very much his desire that he should resume the command of the northern department," he had too much self-respect and pride of character to be shaken in his purpose. After repeated applications, congress, in April, 1779, accepted his resignation, and SCHUYLER finally withdrew from the army.

He continued during the remainder of his life to be eminently useful in the civil departments of government: he was one of the commissioners from New York in 1784, and again in 1787, to settle the boundary line between that state and Massachusetts: the difficulty depended essentially on the variation of the magnetic needle, and the perusal of the correspondence shows that he executed his trust with great industry and skill. He was continued a delegate in congress from New York in 1778 and 1779, and all the authorities and leading patriots of that state, and his fellow-citizens at large, who thoroughly knew his worth and transcendent merits, continued to afford fresh proofs in every way, and on every proper occasion, of their warmest affection, and exalted sense of his talents, activity, and devotion to his country. In 1781, and for several years thereafter, he was a member of the New York senate. He took a zealous part in promoting the adoption of the constitution of the United States, and in 1789 he was elected a member of the first senate under that constitution. His sagacity, and practical skill and zeal for the public interests, led him to give the earliest and most strenuous support to measures for the improvement of internal navigation. He drafted the acts for incorporating the western and northern inland lock navigation companies, and was placed at the head of the direction of both those companies, and he was truly the master spirit which infused life and vigor into the whole undertaking. He had sketched and caused to be executed, the plan of locks at the little falls on the Mohawk, and of connecting the head waters of the

Mohawk and Wood Creek. Those feeble beginnings led on step by step to the bolder and glorious consummation of the Erie canal.

In 1796 he urged, in his place in the New York senate, and afterwards published in a pamphlet form, his plan for the improvement of the revenue of the state. It contemplated the institution of the office of comptroller, and that branch of the plan was literally adopted by the legislature. He demonstrated that upon the measures he suggested, the surplus fund, beyond all reasonable wants, might at the period of 1826, or thirty years from that time, be made to accumulate to three million five hundred and fifty thousand dollars. But he predicted that under bad management "very little principal would be left, and the people burthened with taxes for the support of government."

In 1797 SCHUYLER was unanimously elected once more a senator in congress, and he took a final leave of the senate of his native state, in an affecting address, which to his honor was ordered to be inserted on their journal. General SCHUYLER at that time labored under the pressure of ill health, and he was not able long to continue his seat in congress. He lived for the last few years of his life in dignified retirement, commanding universal veneration and attachment, arising from the known memorials of his illustrious services; his stern integrity; his social virtues; his polished manners; his extensive knowledge; his generous hospitality. When Washington died he clothed himself in mourning. His bodily health was not only broken down by disease, but he was severely visited with domestic afflictions. In 1801 he lost his daughter, Mrs. Van Rensselaer, which dissolved an honorable and highly gratifying family connexion. In 1803 he lost the wife of his youth, and was left at the age of seventy in painful solitude. In July, 1804, he was deprived, under circumstances the most distressing, of his beloved and distinguished son-in-law, General Hamilton. "Consolation," as he afterwards stated in a letter of the 6th of August, "was to be sought, where it can only be truly and effectually found, in an humble acquiescence with the Divine will." This great man died on the 18th of November, 1804, at the age of seventy-one, leaving in the history and institutions of his country, durable monuments of his fame.

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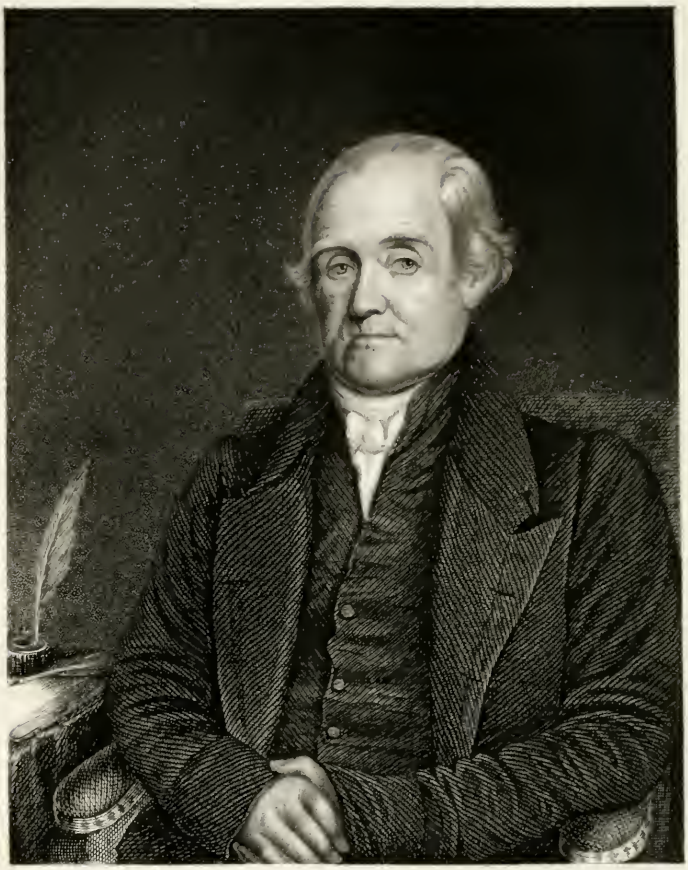

Noah Webster.

NOAH WEBSTER.

The name of Noah Webster is familiar to almost the entire population of our country, as associated with the period of their first instruction in the rudiments of knowledge. As an author he has acted an important part, in laying the foundation of American literature; and as a devoted friend to the institutions of his country, he has consecrated the best efforts of his genius, in some of the most trying exigencies of our government, to the promotion of domestic quiet and national security. In the following sketch, a brief outline will be given of the leading occurrences of his life, with particular reference to the occasions which called forth the principal productions of his pen.

Noah Webster was born in West Hartford, Connecticut, on the 16th of October, 1758. His father was a respectable farmer and justice of the peace; and was a descendant, in the fourth generation, of John Webster, one of the first settlers of Hartford, who was a magistrate, or member of the colonial council from its first formation, and, at a subsequent period, governor of Connecticut. His mother was a descendant of William Bradford, the second governor of the Plymouth colony.

Mr. Webster commenced the study of the classics, in the year 1772, under the instruction of the clergyman of the place, the Rev. Nathan Perkins, D. D., and in 1774, was admitted a member of Yale college. The war of the revolution commencing the next year, interrupted the regular attendance of the students on their usual exercises, and deprived them of no small part of the advantages of a collegiate course of instruction. In his Junior year, when the western part of New England was thrown into confusion by General Burgoyne's expedition from Canada, Mr. Webster volunteered his services under the command of his father, who was captain in the *alarm list*, a body comprising those of the militia who were above forty-five years of age, and who were called into the field only on pressing emergencies. In that campaign, all the males of the family, four in number, were in the army at the same time.

Notwithstanding the interruption of his studies by these causes, Mr. Webster graduated with reputation in 1778. This was an unpropitious time for a young man to be cast upon the world without property. The country was impoverished by the war to a degree of which it is difficult, at the present day, to form any just conception; there was no prospect of peace; the issue of the contest was felt by the most sanguine to be extremely doubtful; and the practice of the law, which Mr. Webster intended to pursue, was in a great measure set aside by the general calamity. It was under these circumstances, that his father, on his return from the Commencement when he graduated, gave him an eight dollar bill of the continental currency, (then worth about a dollar in silver,) and told him that he must thenceforth rely on his own exertions for support. As a means of immediate subsistence, he resorted to the instruction of a school, and during the summer of 1779, resided at Hartford, Connecticut, in the family of Mr., afterwards Chief Justice, Ellsworth. An intimate friendship was thus formed between these two gentlemen, which was interrupted only by the death of the Chief Justice.

Not having the means of obtaining a regular education for the bar, Mr. Webster, at the suggestion of a distinguished counsellor of his acquaintance, determined to pursue the study of the law in the intervals of his regular employment, without the aid of an instructor; and having presented himself for examination, at the expiration of two years, was admitted to practice in the year 1781. As he had no encouragement to open an office in the existing state of the country, he resumed the business of instruction, and taught a classical school, in 1782, at Goshen, in Orange county, New York. Here, in a desponding state of mind, created by the unsettled condition of things at the close of the war, and the gloomy prospects for business, he undertook an employment which gave a complexion to his whole future life. This was the compilation of books for the instruction of youth in schools. Having prepared the first draft of an elementary treatise of this kind, he made a journey to Philadelphia in the autumn of the same year; and after exhibiting a specimen of the work to several members of Congress, among whom was Mr. Madison, and to the Rev. S. S. Smith, D. D., at that time a professor, and afterwards president, of the college at Princeton, he was encouraged by their approbation to prosecute his design. Accordingly, in the winter following, he revised what he had written, and leaving Goshen, in 1783, he returned to Hartford, where he published hi.

"*First Part of a Grammatical Institute of the English Language.*" The second and third parts were published in the years immediately following. These works, comprising a spelling book, an English grammar, and a compilation for reading, were the first books of the kind published in the United States. They were gradually introduced into most of the schools of our country; and to so great an extent has the spelling book been used, that during the twenty years in which he was employed in compiling his American Dictionary, the entire support of his family was derived from the profits of this work, at a premium for copy-right, of less than a cent a copy. Between thirteen and fourteen millions of this book have been published, in the different forms which it assumed under the revision of its author; and its popularity has gone on increasing to the present time. To its influence, probably, more than to any other cause, are we indebted for that remarkable uniformity of pronunciation in our country, which is so often spoken of with surprise by English travellers.

In entering thus early on his literary career, Mr. Webster did not confine himself to the publication of his own works. At a period when nothing had as yet been done to perpetuate the memorials of our early history, he led the way in this important branch of literary effort, by the publication of that highly valuable and characteristic work, Governor Winthrop's Journal. Having learnt that a manuscript copy was in the possession of Governor Trumbull, he caused it to be transcribed, at his own expense, by the governor's private secretary; and risked more than the amount of his whole property in its publication. The sale never remunerated him for the expenses thus incurred.

At the period of Mr. Webster's return to Hartford, in 1783, the state was agitated by violent dissentions, on the subject of a grant made by congress to the army, of half pay for life, which was afterwards commuted for a grant of full pay for five years beyond their term of service. To this grant it was strongly objected, that if the army had suffered by the reduced value of the bills in which they were paid, the country at large had sustained an equal loss by the depreciation of the currency, and by other causes. So strong was the excitement on this subject, that public meetings were held throughout the state, to prevent the laws of congress from being carried into effect, and at length a convention met at Middletown with the same design, at which two thirds of the towns in Connecticut were represented. In this state of things, Mr. Webster, though

only twenty-five years of age, came forward to vindicate the measures of congress; and wrote a series of papers on the subject under the signature of HONORIUS, which were published in the Connecticut Courant, and read extensively throughout the state. The effect was great. At the next election, in April, 1784, a large majority of the legislature were supporters of congress in their measures. So highly were MR. WEBSTER'S services appreciated on this occasion, that he received the thanks of Governor Trumbull in person, and was publicly declared by a member of the council, to have "done more to allay popular discontent, and support the authority of congress at this crisis, than any other man."

These occurrences in his native state, together with the distress and stagnation of business in the whole country, resulting from the want of power in congress to carry its measures into effect, and to secure to the people the benefits of a stable government, convinced Mr. WEBSTER, that the old confederation, after the dangers of the war were past, was utterly inadequate to the necessities of the people. He therefore published a pamphlet in the winter of 1784–5, entitled "*Sketches of American Policy*," in which, after treating of the general principles of government, he endeavored to prove, that it was absolutely necessary for the welfare and safety of the United States, to establish a new system of government, *which should act not on the states, but directly on individuals, and vest in congress full power to carry its laws into effect.* Being on a journey to the southern states, in May, 1785, he went to Mount Vernon, and presented a copy of this pamphlet to General Washington. It contained, the writer believes, the first distinct proposal made through the medium of the press, for a new constitution of the United States.

One object of Mr. WEBSTER'S journey to the south was, to petition the state legislatures for the enactment of a law, securing to authors an exclusive right to the publication of their writings. In this he succeeded to a considerable extent; and the public attention was thus called to a provision for the support of American literature, which was rendered more effectual by a general copy-right law, enacted by congress soon after the formation of our government. At a much later period (in the years 1830–31,) Mr. WEBSTER passed a winter at Washington, with the single view of endeavoring to procure an alteration of the existing law, which should *extend* the term of copy-right, and thus give a more ample reward to the labors of our artists and literary men. In this design he succeeded; and an act was passed more liberal in its provisions than the former law,

though less so, than the laws of some European governments on this subject.

On his return from the south, Mr. WEBSTER spent the summer of 1785, at Baltimore, and employed his time in preparing a course of lectures on the English language, which were delivered during the year 1786, in the principal Atlantic cities, and were published in 1789, in an octavo volume, with the title of "*Dissertations on the English Language.*"

The year 1787 was spent by Mr. WEBSTER at Philadelphia, as superintendent of an Episcopal academy. The convention which framed the present constitution of the United States, were in session at Philadelphia during a part of this year; and when their labors were closed, Mr. WEBSTER was solicited by Mr. Fitzsimmons, one of the members, to give the aid of his pen in recommending the new system of government to the people. He accordingly wrote a pamphlet on this subject, entitled an "*Examination of the leading principles of the Federal Constitution.*"

In 1788, Mr. WEBSTER attempted to establish a periodical in New York, and for one year published the American Magazine, which, however, failed of success; as did also an attempt to combine the efforts of other gentlemen in a similar undertaking. The country was not yet prepared for such a work.

In 1789, when the prospects of business became more encouraging, after the adoption of the new constitution, Mr. WEBSTER married a daughter of William Greenleaf, Esq., of Boston, and established himself at Hartford in the practice of the law, which he pursued for some years with increasing success.

This employment he was induced to relinquish, in 1793, by an interesting crisis in public affairs. General Washington's celebrated *proclamation of neutrality*, rendered necessary by the efforts of the French minister, Genet, to raise troops in our country for the invasion of Louisiana, and to fit out privateers against nations at peace with the United States, had called forth the most bitter reproaches of the partisans of France; and it was even doubtful, for a time, whether the unbounded popularity of the FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, could repress the public effervescence in favor of embarking in the wars of the French revolution. In this state of things, Mr. WEBSTER was strongly solicited to give the support of his pen to the measures of the administration, by establishing a daily paper in the city of New York. Though conscious of the sacrifice of personal ease which he was called upon to make, he was so strongly impressed

with the dangers of the crisis, and so entirely devoted to the principles of Washington, that he did not hesitate to accede to the proposal. Removing his family to New York in November, 1793, he commenced a daily paper under the title of the *Minerva*, and afterwards a semi-weekly paper, with that of the *Herald*, names which were subsequently changed to those of the *Commercial Advertiser*, and *New York Spectator*. This was the first example of a paper for the country, composed of the columns of a daily paper, without recomposition, a practice which has now become very common. In addition to his labors as sole editor of these papers, Mr. Webster published, in the year 1794, a pamphlet which had a very extensive circulation, entitled "*The Revolution in France.*"

The publication of the treaty negotiated with Great Britain by Mr. Jay, in 1795, aroused an opposition to its ratification of so violent a nature as to stagger for a time the firmness of Washington, and to threaten civil commotions. Mr. Webster, in common with General Hamilton, and some of the ablest men of the country, came out in vindication of the treaty. Under the signature of Curtius, he published a series of papers which were very extensively reprinted throughout the country, and afterwards collected by a bookseller of Philadelphia, in a pamphlet form. Of these, ten were contributed by himself, and two by Mr., afterwards Chancellor, Kent. As an evidence of their effect, it may not be improper to state, that Mr. Rufus King expressed his opinion to Mr. Jay, that the essays of Curtius had contributed more than any other papers of the same kind, to allay the discontent and opposition to the treaty; assigning as a reason, that they were peculiarly well adapted to the understanding of the people at large.

During the residence of Mr. Webster in New York, the yellow fever prevailed at different times in most of our large Atlantic cities; and a controversy arose among the physicians of Philadelphia and New York, on the question whether it was introduced by infection, or generated on the spot. The subject interested Mr. Webster deeply, and led him into a laborious investigation of the history of pestilential diseases at every period of the world. The facts which he collected, with the inferences to which he was led, were embodied in a work of two volumes, octavo, which, in 1799, was published both in this country, and in England. This work has always been considered as a valuable repository of facts; and since the prevalence of the cholera, the theories of the author seem to have received so much confirmation, as to excite a more than ordinary interest in the

work, both in Europe and America. It is understood, that a gentleman of Hamburgh was employed in translating it into the German language.

During the wars which were excited by the French revolution, the power assumed by the belligerents to blockade their enemies' ports by proclamation, and the multiplied seizures of American vessels bound to such ports, produced various discussions respecting the rights of neutral nations in time of war. These discussions induced Mr. WEBSTER to examine the subject historically; and in 1802, he published a treatise full of minute information and able reasoning on the subject. A gentleman of competent abilities, who said he had read all that he could find on that subject, in the English, French, German, and Italian languages, declared that he considered this treatise as the best he had seen. The same year he also published "*Historical Notices of the origin and state of Banking Institutions, and Insurance Offices,*" which was republished in Philadelphia by one Humphrey, without giving credit to the author; and a part of which, taken from this reprint, was incorporated into the Philadelphia edition of Rees' Cyclopædia.

At this time Mr. WEBSTER resided at New Haven, to which place he removed in the spring of 1798. For a short period after his departure from New York, he wrote for the papers mentioned above, which, although placed under the care of another editor, continued for a time to be his property. He very soon succeeded, however, in disposing of his interest in them; and from that time devoted himself entirely to literary pursuits.

In 1807, he entered on the great work of his life, which he had contemplated for many years, that of compiling a new and complete dictionary of the English language. As preliminary to this, he had published, in 1806, a dictionary in the octavo form, containing a large number of words not to be found in any similar work, with the definitions corrected throughout, though necessarily expressed in very brief terms. From this time, his reading was turned more or less directly to this object. A number of years were spent in collecting words which had not been introduced into the English dictionaries; in discriminating with exactness the various senses of all the words in our language, and adding those significations which they had recently received. Some estimate may be formed of the labor bestowed on this part of the work, from the fact, that "*The American Dictionary of the English Language*" contains twelve thousand words, and between thirty and forty thousand definitions, which are

not to be found in any preceding work. Seventy years had elapsed since the publication of Johnson's Dictionary; and scarcely a single improvement had been attempted in the various editions through which it had passed, or the numerous compilations to which it had given rise, except by the addition of a few words to the vocabulary. Yet in this period, the English mind was putting itself forth in every direction, with an accuracy of research, and a fertility of invention which are without a parallel in any other stage of its history. A complete revolution had taken place in almost every branch of physical science; new departments had been created, new principles developed, new modes of classification and description adopted. The political changes which so signally marked that period; the excitement of feeling and conflict of opinion resulting from the American and French revolutions; and the numerous modifications which followed in the institutions of society, had also left a deep impress on the language of polities, law, and general literature. Under these circumstances, to make a defining dictionary adapted to the present state of our language, was to produce an entirely *new work;* and how well Mr. WEBSTER executed the task, will appear from the decision of men best qualified to judge, both in this country and in Europe, who have declared that his improvements upon Johnson are even greater than Johnson himself made on those who preceded him. Still more labor, however, was bestowed on another part of the work, viz., the etymology of our leading terms. In this subject, Mr. WEBSTER had always felt a lively interest, as presenting one of the most curious exhibitions of the progress of the human mind. But it was not till he had advanced considerably in the work as originally commenced, that he found how indispensable a knowledge of the true derivation of words is, to an exact development of their various meanings. At this point, therefore, he suspended his labors on the defining part of the dictionary, and devoted a number of years to an inquiry into the origin of our language, and its connexion with those of other countries. In the course of these researches, he examined the vocabularies of twenty of the principal languages of the world, and made a synopsis of the most important words in each; arranging them under the same radical letters, with a translation of their significations, and references from one to another, when the senses are the same or similar. He was thus enabled to discover the real or probable affinities between the different languages; and in many instances, to discover the primary, physical idea of an original word, from which the secondary senses have

branched forth. Being thus furnished with a clew to guide him among the numerous, and often apparently inconsistent significations of our most important words, he resumed his labors on the defining part of the dictionary, and was able to give order and consistency to much that had before appeared confused and contradictory. The results of his inquiries into the origin and filiation of languages, were embodied in a work about half the size of the American dictionary, entitled "*A Synopsis of Words in Twenty Languages.*" This, owing to the expense of the undertaking, has not yet been published; though its principal results so far as our language is concerned, are briefly given in tracing the etymology of our leading terms.

During the progress of these labors, Mr. WEBSTER, finding his resources inadequate to the support of his family at New Haven, removed, in 1812, to Amherst, a pleasant country town within eight miles of Northampton, Massachusetts. Here he entered, with his characteristic ardor, into the literary and social interests of the people among whom he was placed. His extensive library, which was open to all, and his elevated tone of thought and conversation, had naturally a powerful influence on the habits and feelings of a small and secluded population. It was owing in part, probably, to his removal to this town, that an academy was there established, which is now among the most flourishing seminaries of our land. A question having soon after arisen, respecting the removal of Williams college from a remote corner of the state, to some more central position, Mr. WEBSTER entered warmly into the design of procuring its establishment at Amherst, as one of the most beautiful and appropriate locations in New England. Though the removal did not take place, so strong an interest on the subject was awakened in Amherst and the neighboring towns, that a new college was soon after founded there, in the establishment of which Mr. WEBSTER, as president of its first board of trustees, had great influence, both by his direct exertions to secure it patronage, and by the impulse which he had given to the cause of education in that part of the state. This institution is now highly prosperous among the colleges of our country.

In 1822, Mr. WEBSTER returned with his family to New Haven; and in 1823, received the degree of LL. D., from Yale college. Having nearly completed his dictionary, he resolved on a voyage to Europe, with a view to perfect the work by consulting literary men abroad, and by examining some standard authors, to which he could not gain access in this country. He accordingly sailed for France in June, 1824, and spent two months at Paris in consulting several

rare works in the Bibliothèque du Roi, and then went to England, where he remained till May, 1825. He spent several months at the University of Cambridge, where he had free access to the public libraries, and there he finished "*The American Dictionary.*" He afterwards visited London, Oxford, and some of the other principal towns of England, and in June, returned to this country. This visit to England gave him an opportunity to become acquainted with literary men and literary institutions in that country, and to learn the real state of the English language there.

Soon after Dr. WEBSTER returned to this country, the necessary arrangements were made for the publication of the work. An edition of twenty-five hundred copies was printed in this country, at the close of 1828, which was followed by an edition of three thousand in England, under the superintendence of E. H. Barker, Esq., editor of the Thesaurus Græcæ Linguæ of Henry Stephens. With the publication of the AMERICAN DICTIONARY, at the age of seventy, Dr. WEBSTER considered the labors of his literary life as in a great measure brought to a close. He revised a few of his earlier works for republication, especially his "*History of the United States,*" designed for the higher classes of schools, for youth who are acquiring a taste for history, and for men of business who have not time to study larger treatises; and superintended an edition of the Bible in which some words of the common version offensive to delicacy, or otherwise opposed to common usage are changed, which revisions were highly valued.

Such a man as Dr. WEBSTER, however, though he had passed the ordinary limits of human life, could not be unemployed. In 1840 he published a new edition of "*The American Dictionary,*" adding to its vocabulary some thousands of words, correcting its scientific definitions to meet the improvements of the age, and giving the explanation of many phrases from foreign languages, as well as of foreign terms used in books of music. Early in 1843 he issued an octavo volume, which, in addition to a reprint of valuable pamphlets he had formerly published, contains a highly interesting production "*On the supposed Change in the Temperature of Winter.*" There is, probably, no other treatise which exhibits the historical evidence on this subject with so much fullness and accuracy. In the spring of the same year he revised the Appendix of his Dictionary, adding to it some hundreds of words. This, which was completed about the middle of May, was the closing act of his life. It had occupied his attention for thirty-six years.

Within a few days of this event he walked one afternoon two or

three miles, calling on his friends, and on his return complained of weakness and a severe oppression on his lungs. It soon became necessary to inform him that he was in imminent danger. He received the communication with surprise, but with entire composure. He was ready. He gave some characteristic directions as to the disposal of his body after death; spoke of his long life as one of uniform enjoyment, because filled up at every stage with active labors for some valuable and; and expressed his entire resignation to the will of God, and his unshaken trust in the atoning blood of the Redeemer. It was an interesting coincidence, that his former pastor, the Rev. Mr. Stuart, who received him into the church thirty-five years before, had just arrived at New Haven on a visit to his friends. He called immediately; and the interview brought into affecting comparison the beginning and the end of that long period of consecration to the service of Christ. The same hopes which had cheered the vigor of manhood, were now shedding a softened light over the decay and sufferings of age. "I know in whom I have believed,"—such was the solemn and affecting testimony which he gave to his friend, while the hand of death was upon him,—"I *know* in whom I have believed, and am persuaded that He is able to keep that which I have committed to him against that day." Thus, without one doubt, one fear, he resigned his soul into the hands of his Maker, on May 28th, 1843, in the 85th year of his age.

In his person, Dr. Webster was tall, and somewhat slender; stood remarkably erect through life; and moved even in his advanced years, with a light and elastic step. The leading traits in his character were enterprise, self-reliance, and indomitable perseverance. He was naturally of a sanguine temperament, and the circumstances under which he entered on the active duties of life, were eminently suited to strengthen the original tendencies of his nature. One of his principal habits was that of arranging all his acquired knowledge in the most exact order, and keeping the elements of progressive thought continually within his reach. Another habit was that of carrying on numerous and diversified employments at the same time; and, above all, he had the mental habit of thorough and penetrating research, discussing every subject on its principles. In his social habits, he was distinguished by dignified ease, affability and politeness; and in the discharge of domestic duties was watchful, consistent and firm. In respect to religion, he was a firm believer, during a large part of his life, in the great distinctive doctrines of our puritan ancestors, whose character he always regarded with the highest veneration

We bring our sketch to a close in the language of his biographer, as it appears in the standard edition of his Dictionary, published at Springfield, 1852, to which interesting document we have been largely indebted:—"In conclusion, it may be said that the name of NOAH WEBSTER, from the wide circulation of some of his works, is known familiarly to a greater number of the inhabitants of the United States, than the name probably of any other individual except the 'FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY.' Whatever influence he thus acquired was used at all times to promote the best interests of his fellow-men. His books, though read by millions, have made no man worse. To multitudes they have been of lasting benefit, not only by the cause of early training they have furnished, but by those precepts of wisdom and virtue with which almost every page is stored."

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James Kent

JAMES KENT, LL.D.

James Kent was born the 31st July, 1763, in that part of Dutchess county then called the precinct of Fredericksburgh, now in the county of Putnam, in the state of New York. His grandfather, the Rev. Elisha Kent, a native of Suffield, in the state of Connecticut, married the daughter of the Rev. Joseph Moss, of Derby, and was for some time a minister of the Presbyterian church at Newtown, in that state. He removed, as early as 1740, to the south-east part of Dutchess county, then wild and uncultivated, but which gradually increased in population, and became known as Kent's Parish. He continued to reside there until his death, in July, 1776, at the age of seventy-two. His eldest son, Moss Kent, who, as well as his father, was a graduate of Yale college, commenced the study of the law, under Lieutenant-Governor Fitch, at Norwalk, in Connecticut, and was admitted to the bar, in Dutchess county, in 1756. In 1760 he married the eldest daughter of Dr. Uriah Rogers, a physician at Norwalk, by whom he had three children, who are now living. James, the subject of this memoir, Moss, who was a member of the senate of New York for four years, afterwards a member of congress, and first judge of the court of common pleas of Jefferson county, which office he resigned on being appointed register of the court of chancery in 1817, and Hannah, who married William Pitt Platt, of Plattsburgh. They lost their mother in 1770, and their father died in 1794, at the age of sixty-one.

When five years old, James, the eldest son, was placed at an English school, at Norwalk, and lived in the family of his maternal grandfather, until 1772, when he went to reside with an uncle, at Pawlings, in Dutchess county, where he acquired the first rudiments of Latin. In May, 1773, he was sent to a Latin school, at Danbury, in Connecticut, under the charge of the Rev. Ebenezer Baldwin, a highly respectable Presbyterian minister. After the death of Mr. Baldwin, in October, 1776, he was under different instructers, at Danbury, Stratford, and Newtown, until he entered Yale college,

in New Haven, in September, 1777. At these different schools, he was remarked as possessing a lively disposition, great quickness of parts, a spirit of emulation, and love of learning. The pious puritans, among whom he lived, were sober, frugal, and industrious, and the strict and orderly habits of those around him had their influence in forming his own. From their example and the impressions received at that early age, he acquired that simplicity of character and purity of morals which he ever afterwards preserved, without losing his natural vivacity and playfulness of temper. He used to speak of the delight he experienced on his periodical returns from school to his home, in rambling with his brother among the wild scenery of his native hills and valleys. The associations then formed rendered him an enthusiastic admirer of the beauties of nature; and in after life during the intervals of business, he made excursions into every part of his native state, through New England, and along the borders of Canada, visiting each mountain, lake, and cascade; and while gratifying his taste for simple pleasures, preserving and invigorating his health.

In July, 1779, in consequence of the invasion of New Haven by the British troops, the college was broken up, and the students for a time dispersed. During his exile, having met with a copy of Blackstone's Commentaries, he read the work of that elegant writer, with great eagerness and pleasure, and it so excited his admiration, that he determined, at the age of sixteen, to be a lawyer.

He left college, after taking the degree of bachelor, in September, 1781, with high reputation; and, after passing a few weeks at Fairfield, to which place his father had removed on his second marriage, he went to Poughkeepsie, and commenced the study of the law, under the direction of Egbert Benson, then attorney-general of the state of New York, and, afterwards, one of the judges of the supreme court. His strong and decided attachment to jurisprudence could not fail to ensure his success. Besides the books of English common law, he read the large works of Grotius and Puffendorf, making copious extracts from them, and, as a relaxation, perusing the best writers in English literature, of which his favorite portions were history, poetry, geography, voyages, and travels. He was temperate in all his habits, a water-drinker, and entered into no dissipation, not even joining in the ordinary fashionable amusements of others of the same age. He was very far, however, from being grave, reserved, or austere; but was uniformly cheerful, lively, and communicative. The love of reading had become his ruling passion, and

when he felt the want of amusement, "he better knew great nature's charms to prize," and sought it in rural walks, amidst objects that purify and elevate the imagination. In September, 1784, he took the degree of master of arts at Yale college, and in January, 1785, was admitted an attorney of the supreme court. He went to Fredericksburgh, with the intention of commencing the practice of his profession there; but the solitude of that retired spot soon became insupportable, and in less than two months, he returned to Poughkeepsie, where, in April, 1785, he married Miss ——— Bailey, a lady a few years younger than himself, and with whom he always lived in the uninterrupted enjoyment of domestic felicity. He possessed, at this time, little or no property, but living with great simplicity in a country village, his wants were few, and supplied at little expense. Young, ardent, and active, he felt no anxiety for the future; but engaged with increased alacrity in professional business and literary pursuits, so as to leave no portion of his time unemployed.

In 1787, he resolved to renew and extend his acquaintance with the Greek and Roman classics, which he had entirely neglected after leaving college. When it is considered that the only Greek book at that time read by the classes in that seat of learning, was the Greek Testament, and the only Latin works, Virgil, the select orations of Cicero, and some parts of Horace, we may easily imagine how imperfect must have been that part of his education, the defects of which he was determined to supply. He began a course of self-instruction, with an energy and perseverance, that mark a strong and generous mind. That he might lose no time, and pursue his various studies with method and success, he divided the hours not given to rest, into five portions: rising early and reading Latin until eight, Greek until ten, devoting the rest of the forenoon to law; in the afternoon two hours were applied to French, and the rest of day to English authors. This division and employment of his time were continued with little variation, until he became a judge. By this practice, he was under no necessity of encroaching on those hours best appropriated to sleep, and preserved his health unimpaired. If his mind became weary in one department of study, he found relief by passing to another; "from grave to gay, from lively to severe." He read Homer, Xenophon, and Demosthenes with great delight. Though he afterwards relinquished the pursuit of Grecian literature, he continued to read the best Latin and French authors and many of the former more than once. As large public

libraries, if any then existed, were not within his reach, he began a collection of books which he afterwards gradually increased to several thousand volumes; and he often said, that next to his family, his library had been to him the greatest source of enjoyment. It fed, while it increased his appetite for useful knowledge, and cherished that love of literature that had grown and strengthened with his growing years. In April, 1787, he was admitted a counsellor in the supreme court. He soon entered with ardor into the discussion of the great political questions which then absorbed the attention and agitated the minds of all. He could not long remain neutral between the two contending parties, and after a careful examination of the arguments of each, he, from the purest motives and with the clearest conviction joined the federal side. He soon became the friend of Jay, Hamilton, and other eminent men of that party, with whom he uniformly acted, and to whose principles he always steadily adhered.

In April, 1790, he was elected a member of the state legislature for Dutchess county, and again in 1792. In the session held in the city of New York, he took a zealous and distinguished part in the memorable question which arose in that body, on the conduct of the canvassers of the votes given in the warmly contested election for governor, in destroying those returned from Otsego county, by which means Mr. Clinton obtained a small majority over Mr. Jay, (then chief justice of the United States,) who was the federal candidate. His writings on that occasion attracted much attention, and he became favorably known in the city. He was, at that time, nominated as a candidate for congress, in Dutchess county, but his competitor, who adhered to the opposite party, succeeded by a small majority. During his attendance in the legislature, his principles and conduct were so highly respected, that he was urged by his friends to remove to the city, where he might find greater scope for the exercise of his talents, and more lucrative business in his profession. He accordingly removed to New York, in April, 1793. The first month of his residence in the city was embittered by the loss of an only child, and for a time his prospects were clouded with sorrow. In December, he was appointed professor of law in Columbia college, and commenced the delivery of lectures, in November, 1794. The course was attended by many respectable members of the bar, and a large class of students. In the following winter, he read a second course; but the number of his hearers having diminished, he was discouraged from delivering another. The three prelimi-

nary lectures were afterwards published, but the sale of them did not reimburse the expense of publication. The trustees of the college conferred upon him the degree of doctor of laws, and he afterwards received similar honors from Harvard university and Dartmouth college.

In February, 1796, he was appointed a master in chancery, and there being, at that time, but one other, the office was lucrative. In the same year, he was elected a member of the legislature from the city of New York. He delivered an address before the society for the promotion of agriculture, arts, and manufactures, at their anniversary meeting in New York, on the 8th of November, 1796, which is inserted in the first volume of the transactions of the society. It contains a rapid and animating sketch of the great natural and political advantages of the United States, and especially of the state of New York, for the advancement of the great objects of the society, and the progress of the country since that time has more than realized the most glowing anticipations of its patriotic founders

In March, 1797, he was, without solicitation and quite unexpectedly to himself, appointed recorder of the city. This being a judicial office, was the more acceptable as well as more honorable; and being allowed to retain that of master, the duties of both were so great, and the emoluments so considerable, that he gradually relinquished the more active business of his profession, to which he was not strongly attached. From constitutional diffidence, or habits of study, he appeared not to feel confident in the possession of the powers requisite to ensure preëminence as an advocate at the bar.

In 1798, Governor Jay, who knew his worth and highly respected his character, offered him the office of junior judge of the supreme court, then vacant, which he accepted. This appointment gratified his highest ambition. It placed him in a situation where he could more fully display his attainments, and have a wider field for the investigation of legal science. In accepting the office, he relinquished, for a limited income, all the flattering prospects of increasing wealth that had opened to him during five years' residence in the city. Though most of his friends doubted the wisdom of his choice, he never regretted it. And all who feel interested in the pure and enlightened administration of justice, have found reason to rejoice that he followed the dictates of his own judgment, in a matter so interesting to the honor and happiness of his after life. On becoming a judge he returned to Poughkeepsie, but in the following

year, he removed to Albany, where he continued to reside until 1823.

When he took his seat on the bench of the supreme court, there were no reports of its decisions, nor any known or established precedents of its own to guide or direct his judgment. The English law books were freely cited, and the adjudications of English courts regarded with the highest respect, and in most cases, with the force of authority. The opinions of the judges were generally delivered orally, with little regularity, and often after much delay. The law was in a state of great and painful uncertainty. He began by preparing a written and argumentative opinion in every case of sufficient importance to become a precedent for the future. These opinions he was ready to deliver at the day when the judges met to consult on the decisions to be pronounced by the court. The other judges, pursuing a similar course, also gave their reasons in writing, supported by legal authorities. As he read with a pen in his hand, extracting, digesting, abridging, and making copious notes, the practice of writing opinions was easy and agreeable. Besides making himself master of all the English adjudications applicable to the points under examination, he frequently brought to his aid the body of the civil law, and the writings of eminent jurists of the countries in which that law prevails; especially, in the discussion of questions arising on personal contracts, or of commercial and maritime law, the principles of which have been so admirably unfolded and illustrated by Domat, Pothier, Valin, Emerigon, and others. Like Selden, Hale, and Mansfield, he thought law could not be well understood as a science, without seeking its grounds and reasons in the Roman law. From that great repository of "written wisdom," he drew largely, engrafting its sound and liberal principles on the hardy stock of the English common law. Thus commenced that series of judicial decisions which have enriched the jurisprudence of New York, and shed their influence on that of other states.

In 1800 he and Mr. Justice Radcliffe were appointed by the legislature, to revise the statutes of the state; and in January, 1802, was published their edition of them, comprised in two volumes octavo. Without venturing to change the phraseology of the laws, they confined themselves to the single object of placing together the various acts of the legislature relative to the same subject, so as to bring the original enactments and all subsequent additions and amendments, into one act; and by a full and accurate index, to facilitate a reference to them.

In July, 1804, he was appointed chief justice of the supreme court, in which he continued to preside until 1814. We shall not here attempt to enter into any examination of the opinions delivered by him during the time he was a judge of that court. They are contained in sixteen volumes of Reports, from January, 1799, to February, 1814; and the judgment of the public has long since been formed on their merit and importance.

In February, 1814, he was appointed chancellor. The powers and jurisdiction of the court of chancery were not clearly defined. There were no precedents of its decisions, (if we except what might be gleaned from a few cases heard in the court of errors, on appeal, and reported by Mr. Johnson,) to which reference could be made in case of doubt; and it is a fact, that during the whole period of his sitting in chancery, from 1814 to 1823, not a single opinion or *dictum* of his predecessors was cited. Without any other guide, he felt at liberty to exercise such powers of the English chancery, as he deemed applicable, under the constitution and laws of the state, subject to the correction of the court of errors, on appeal. As to the course of equity to be administered, it was to him, in effect, as if the court had been then newly established. The causes before the court were managed by a few lawyers. He opened wide its doors; and his kindness and affability, his known habits of business, and promptitude of decision, attracted many to the court. The number of causes rapidly increased, and it soon required the most strenuous and unceasing efforts of his active mind to hear and decide the cases brought before him. Besides his attendance during the regular terms of the court, he was, at all times, easy of access at his chambers; so that no one ever complained of delay, as to the hearing or decision of his cause. He considered the cases in the order in which they were presented or argued, and did not leave one until he was fully prepared to deliver his judgment upon it. He read the pleadings and depositions with the greatest attention, carefully abstracting from them every material fact; and having become familiar with the merits of the cause, he was able, unless some technical or artificial rule was interposed, by his own clear moral perception to discover where lay the equity of the case. Not content, however, with satisfying his conscience as to the justice of his decision, he was studious to demonstrate that his judgment was supported by the well established principles of equity to be found in the decisions of the courts of that country from which our laws have been derived. His researches on every point were so full, as

.o leave little or nothing to be supplied by those who might afterwards wish to have his decisions reëxamined or to test the correctness of his conclusions.

Accustomed to take a large view of jurisprudence, and considering law not as a collection of arbitrary and disconnected rules, but rather as a science founded on general principles of justice and equity, to be applied to the actions of men in the diversified relations of civil society, he was not deterred, but animated, by the novelty and intricacy of a case; and while his mind was warmly engaged in the general subject, he sought rather than avoided difficult points, even when the discussion of them was not essential to the decision of the main question between the parties; so that nothing was suffered to pass without examination. His judicial opinions, are, therefore, uncommonly interesting and instructive to all, but especially to those who have commenced the study of the law, and aspire to eminence in that profession. The decisions in chancery are contained in seven volumes of Reports.

On the 31st July, 1823, having attained the age of sixty years, the period limited by the constitution for the tenure of his office, he retired from the court, after hearing and deciding every case that had been brought before him. On this occasion, the members of the bar residing in the city of New York, presented him an address, from which, as coming from those most competent, by their situation, to form a just estimate of his judicial character and services, we cannot refrain from giving some extracts. After speaking of the inestimable benefits conferred on the community by his judicial labors for five and twenty years, they observe: "During this long course of services, so useful and honorable, and which will form the most brilliant period in our judicial history, you have by a series of decisions, in law and equity, distinguished alike for practical wisdom, profound learning, deep research, and accurate discrimination, contributed to establish the fabric of our jurisprudence on those sound principles that have been sanctioned by the experience of mankind, and expounded by the venerable and enlightened sages of the law. Though others may hereafter enlarge and adorn the edifice whose deep and solid foundations were laid by the wise and patriotic framers of our government in that common law which they claimed for the people as their noblest inheritance, your labors on this magnificent structure will forever remain eminently conspicuous, commanding the applause of the present generation, and exciting the admiration and gratitude of future ages."

A similar address was presented to him by the members of the bar in Albany, and also by those from the different counties of the state, attending the supreme court at Utica, in August following. In the latter, it is observed, that, "in the space of little more than nine years, an entire and wonderful revolution in the administration of equity has been accomplished;" and a reference is aptly made to the account given by Sir William Blackstone of a similar revolution in the English chancery, by Sir Heneage Finch, afterwards earl of Nottingham, who became chancellor in 1673. "The necessities of mankind," says that writer, "coöperated in his plan and enabled him in the course of nine years, to build a system of jurisprudence and jurisdiction upon wide and rational foundations." In the same address, speaking of their intercourse with him as a judge, they called to mind "so many instances of personal kindness—so many scenes of delightful instruction—so many evidences of pureness and singleness of heart—such a uniform and uninterrupted course of generous, candid, and polite treatment, that we are unable to express the fulness of our feelings, and can only say that our affection for you as a man, almost absorbs our veneration for you as a judge."

In these addresses, the bar were led to express a doubt as to the wisdom of that clause in the political constitution of the state, which "compelled him in the full enjoyment of his intellectual faculties, to relinquish a station he had filled with such consummate ability." And, in this case at least, the application of the policy of that provision might well induce them to call in question the wisdom and expediency of so singular a limitation.

In August, he visited the eastern states, and on his return home he became apprehensive that after being so many years actively engaged in discharging the duties of a public station, the sudden transition to privacy and seclusion, might produce an unfavorable effect on his health and spirits. He soon determined to remove to the city of New York, to open a law school, and to act as chamber counsel. The trustees of the college again offered him the professorship of law in that institution, which he accepted; and, in 1824, he prepared and delivered a series of law lectures, on a more comprehensive plan than that pursued in his former course. He also gave private instruction to students, who resorted to him from various parts of the United States. His parental kindness towards the young, and the frankness and affability of his manners, won their affection without diminishing their respect; and his conversation and example could not fail to inspire that ardor and emulation so

conducive to their progress and success. His high reputation as a judge, induced many, not only in the city, but in distant places, to consult him on difficult and important questions, and, instead of the brief answers usually returned by counsel, he gave full and argumentative opinions. Many causes actually pending in court, were, by the agreement of the parties, submitted to his final decision. He had continued, for some years, thus usefully and agreeably occupied, when having discontinued his law lectures, he began to revise and enlarge them for publication; and in November, 1826, appeared the first volume of the "Commentaries on American Law." This volume includes three parts; the law of nations, the government and constitutional jurisprudence of the United States, and the various sources of municipal law. The second volume was published in November, 1827, the third in 1828, and the fourth in 1830. The three last comprise the law concerning the rights of persons, and personal and real property.

He has treated the several subjects comprised under these extensive and most important titles,—the rights of persons and the rights of property—in a manner more full and satisfactory than Blackstone; and has introduced many others, not found in the work of that author, with numerous references, quotations, and illustrations, the result of his various and extensive reading, highly pleasing and instructive to the student. He has left untouched the subjects of private wrongs, and the mode of pursuing their remedies by actions in courts of justice; of the powers and jurisdiction of judicial magistracy, and of public wrongs, or the law concerning crimes and punishments, which occupy the third and fourth volumes of the English commentator.

The work of Sir William Blackstone, by the elegance of its style, its lucid arrangement and finished execution, is so well adapted to render the study of the law attractive, and to give a knowledge of the constitution and laws of England, well deserving the attention of every liberal mind, that it has been, (though, for many years, more from necessity than choice,) very properly placed in the hands of every student; but as much of those admirable Commentaries relate to the political constitution of England, so different from our own, to its peculiar institutions, and to rights and duties, public and private, not existing in this country, an American work, exhibiting our own constitution, laws, institutions, usages, and civil relations, had been long wanted. In the full maturity of his understanding, with a mind long habituated to legal investigations and researches, and

with sound and enlightened views of jurisprudence, no man, perhaps, could have been found, better fitted than Chancellor KENT to execute such a work, and it may diminish, in some degree, the regret felt for the loss sustained by the public and the legal profession, in being deprived of his valuable services on the bench, to know how usefully to the world and honorably to himself, he employed his time and talents in its performance.

The limits prescribed to this brief memoir will not permit us, if it were proper, to go farther, or to enter into a particular examination of the merits of this masterly work. The first edition of the commentaries having been exhausted, he published a second in April, 1832, carefully revised and greatly enlarged. From one who had done so much for the improvement and diffusion of legal science,—more could not be expected than he had already accomplished; but he improved the admirable work he had written, and lived to publish the *sixth* edition of his Commentaries shortly before his death. As since edited by his son and Mr. Eaton, the volumes leave us nothing to desire, except it be a wish, which we cannot suppress, that he had presented his views, also, of that system of equity jurisprudence, to the formation and illustration of which his own judicial labors have so largely contributed.

Having been elected president of the New York Historical Society, he delivered, by request, a public discourse, at their anniversary meeting, on the 6th December, 1828. In this elegant and instructive address, he very appropriately notices the principal events in the history of the colony and state of New York to the end of the revolution, and mentions, with merited praise, some of the eminent patriots and statesmen of New York, who so ably assisted in achieving that revolution, and in securing its blessings to their posterity. If our attention could be oftener drawn from the absorbing pursuits of wealth and ambition, or the contests of selfish demagogues, to the contemplation of such illustrious examples of wisdom and virtue, we might find more perfect models for our imitation, and haply feel our hearts warmed with that pure love of country which glowed in their breasts.

At the request of the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Yale College, a literary association formed in 1780, of which he was an original member, and comprising the most distinguished graduates of that seminary, he delivered a public address, at the anniversary meeting of the associates, on the 13th September, 1831. This discourse, in which he takes a historical survey of the college, from its origin in the begin-

ning of the last century, and sketches the characters of its pious and learned founders, supporters, and instructors, is replete with generous feelings and just sentiments on literature and education. Alluding, towards the close, to his own class, of whom twelve (out of twenty-five) were then living, and most of those present; he makes this natural and striking reflection. "Star after star, has fallen from its sphere. A few bright lights are still visible; but the constellation itself has become dim, and almost ceases to shed its radiance around me. What a severe lesson of mortality does such a retrospect teach! What a startling rebuke to human pride! How brief the drama! How insignificant the honors and 'fiery chase of ambition,' except as mental discipline for beings destined for immortality."

In the brief notice which we have taken of the principal events in the life of this eminent jurist, we have adverted to some of the distinctive qualities of his character; and it will be perceived how pure, virtuous, upright, and honorable that life was, the full delineation of which must be reserved for the pen of his talented son. Though not passed in scenes that attract the general gaze of mankind, or excite the admiration and applause of the multitude, it was highly distinguished, affording a bright and instructive example of industry and perseverance in the pursuit of useful knowledge, and of unwearied diligence in the discharge of every duty, public and private.

The longest career must close, and the brightest must be succeeded by darkness. Happy in his family, which consisted of a son and three daughters, the former of whom he saw successfully pleading at the bar, some years before his removal, amiable in his manners, modest and candid in his social intercourse, temperate in all his habits, and favored with better health than usually falls to the lot of studious men, he had entered on his eighty-fifth year, before he was summoned to his tomb. Then, in tones soft and almost sacred, it was whispered in the precincts of the courts of law, and in the thronged marts of business, "*Chancellor Kent is dead!*" His mind remained to the last unclouded, and with the consciousness of a useful life, and in peace with all mankind, the great jurist, the pure patriot, the wise teacher, the good man—died.

With all the feelings of a young man, with vigorous and cheerful step, and with his friendships, as Johnson has expressed it, "kept in repair," Chancellor KENT enjoyed for the last twenty-five years of his life, a sort of intellectual and moral supremacy in this our republic, rarely paid to any man, and never, as one of his personal friends writes, "was any one so wholly unspoiled by it. Simplicity was quite

as much the attribute of his mind as vigor and justness—and that quality gave to his personal intercourse an indescribable charm." He knew no deceptive arts, but was transparent as the day. His opinions were uttered with a frankness which an open and honest nature only can show. Indeed he needed no concealments; and could have no objection that every thought he cherished should be universally published. His learning was deep and varied,—his reading comprehended the whole scope of knowledge,—his memory was always faithful, and it was aided by the habit, invariable we believe with him, of reading pen in hand, and annotating as he read.

The remains of the venerable Chancellor were followed to the tomb on the 15th of December, 1847, by perhaps the largest assembly of men of intellect and learning ever witnessed in that city. They were preceded by the Rev. Dr. Taylor, and the Rev. Mr. Southard, clergymen of the episcopal church, of which the deceased was a member. The beautiful weather corresponded with his character, sunny and bright; and none departed from the silent solemn scene gainsaying the record that there lies all that was mortal, of an able and upright man.

The domestic connections of Judge Kent were eminently happy, and the kindness of his heart, in this circle, had full play. Eminently affectionate, kind and indulgent himself, he met with the most grateful and generous feelings in return; which showed that his amiable disposition had awakened the warmest sympathies of those immediately around him. In social intercourse with his friends, no man was more unaffected or generous. His integrity was unimpeachable; his regard for the rights and feelings of others constantly awake; concealment, management and intrigue, were utterly foreign to his nature. His estimate of his own powers was modest, and frankly expressed; and though by no means insensible to the good opinion of others, no man was more generous in appreciating and proclaiming the merits of his eminent contemporaries in the law. He was permitted to reap the fruit of his virtues. In the city of his choice, and wherever he was known, the public attended him, and his unwearied industry was rewarded by a long, prosperous, and contented life.

We feel unwilling to lay down our pen without writing a few sentences on a subject in connection with the subject of this memoir, or rather with his masterly Commentaries on the American Law. For these thoughts we are indebted to a very able writer in The North American Review. With him "we hold that everybody should

know something of the constitution and laws of his country; and we hope the day will come, when, in every school, the grammar of this science will be taught as well as the grammar of his language. Already, at many of our law schools, provision is made for those who enter them, not to become lawyers, but to learn commercial law. And already there are those in these schools, who are there only to complete their education, by adding to it the knowledge of the law as a science. And we think the time is not far distant, when every educated man will feel that it becomes him to know something of the law under which he lives. We can hardly forbear from enlarging upon the peculiar necessity of this, in a country like our own. Here, all men are not lawyers—far are we from wishing that they should be so—but all men select their law-makers, and very many men take their turn in the work of law-making:—a work, after all, of some importance, and which is likely to be better done, when it is not done, as it is at present, by a large body divided by a great majority, ignorant both of the provisions and the principles of existing law, and a small minority who are looked upon with jealousy and suspicion because they are not equally ignorant. That the lawyers of our legislatures sometimes need watching, and pretty close watching too, we do not deny; but we rather think they would be watched to better purpose by knowledge than by ignorance. And here is one reason, even if there were no other, why the study of the law, wisely measured and modified, should become one of the generally required studies of all the citizens of this country." The more diligently these suggestions are acted on, the higher will stand the labors of Chancellor Kent.

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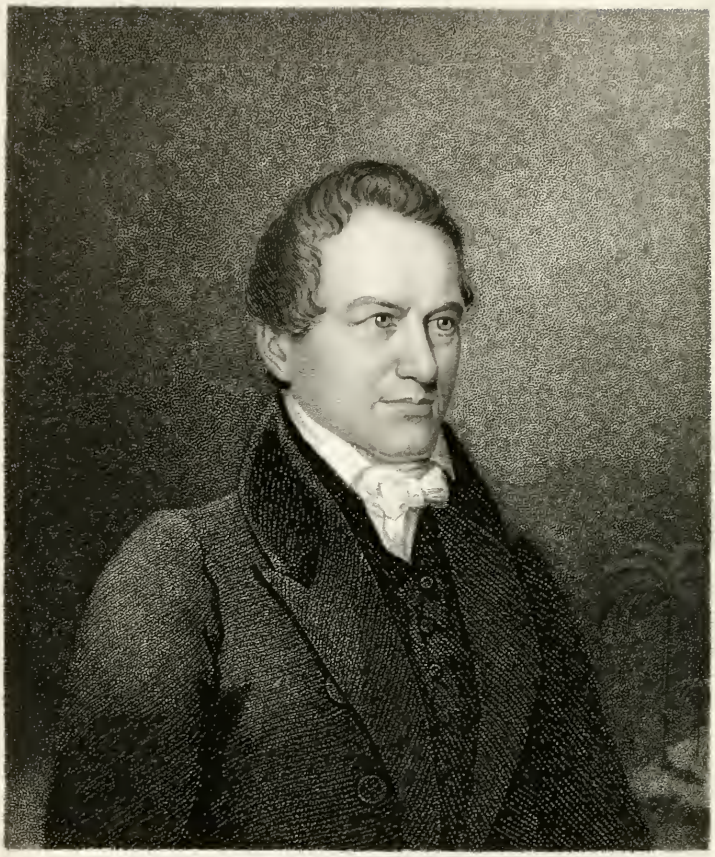

Robt. Y. Hayne

ROBERT Y. HAYNE.

Robert Y. Hayne, the subject of this sketch, was born near Charleston, South Carolina, on the 10th November, 1791. He was the third son of a respectable planter, and descended from a revolutionary family, the only male members of which, who were able to bear arms in the war of the revolution, sacrificed themselves in the cause of independence. The one lost his life in consequence of confinement in a British prison ship, and the other (the gallant and lamented martyr, Isaac Hayne,) perished on a scaffold, the victim of British perfidy and cruelty. The father of the subject of this sketch had ten children—but in consequence of the moderate extent of his fortune, and of pecuniary embarrassments, resulting chiefly from liabilities incurred for others, he was unable to give his son the benefit of collegiate education. Robert, therefore, began and finished his education at a common grammar school in the city of Charleston. He then, at the age of seventeen, commenced the study of the law, under the direction of Langdon Cheves, well known throughout the union as an enlightened jurist and distinguished statesman. At the conclusion of the usual period of study, during which he had applied himself with unremitted assiduity and diligence to the attainment of legal science, he was admitted to practice his profession. An incident may be here mentioned, which, as it is indicative of that zeal and ardor to which, perhaps, Mr. Hayne was in a very great measure indebted for his success in life, may well deserve a place in this brief account of his career. Early in 1812, when our second war with Great Britain was rapidly approaching, a requisition was made by the United States for a corps of militia to defend the seaboard. Mr. Hayne, though not then of age, and incapable, therefore, by the laws of South Carolina, of practising as a lawyer, applied for and obtained leave from the judges to be examined; and having obtained an order for his admission to the bar, upon the condition that his certificate should be withheld until he should attain the age of twenty-one, he immediately volunteered his services to the United States, and took the field as a lieutenant in the third regiment

of state troops, with which he remained until the expiration of their term of service. Whilst serving at Fort Moultrie, (under the command of Colonel William Drayton, of the regular army,) he delivered an address on the 4th of July, 1812, to the officers and soldiers of that garrison. This was his first effort as an orator, but, young as he was, the patriotism of his sentiments, the classical purity of his style, and the decisive manifestations which he even then gave of the possession of oratorical powers of a very high order, brought him prominently forward to the public view. Mr. HAYNE became major-general of the South Carolina militia, to the improvement of which, in discipline and military science, he very essentially contributed by his zealous devotion to his duties in every grade, from the lowest to the highest. He was universally acknowledged to be one of the most accomplished and popular officers that ever exercised the elevated command to which he was raised.

On receiving an honorable discharge from the service of the United States, Mr. HAYNE returned to Charleston, and immediately commenced the practice of the law. Having no patrimonial estate, he was, from the beginning, thrown entirely upon his own resources. Falling heir, however, in some degree, to the practice of Mr. Cheves, who had accepted a seat in congress, he was rapidly and eminently successful in his professional pursuits, and his practice continued regularly to increase up to the period of his final retirement from the bar. Before he had attained his twenty-second year, he found himself in possession of an income, which authorized him to incur the expenses of a family; and from that time, it is believed, his professional advancement and emoluments were not surpassed by those of any practitioner at the Charleston bar.

Mr. HAYNE was first elected a member of the legislature in October, 1814. This was the first general election which had occurred since he had attained his majority. And, as a very decisive evidence of the high stand which he even then occupied in public estimation, and of the abundant promise which he had even then given of future usefulness and distinction, it deserves to be mentioned that he was elected at the head of a list of thirty-one candidates, (most of them men of the highest character and talents,) and that he received on that occasion, probably, the largest amount of votes ever given to any individual in a contested election in the city of Charleston. For this very flattering, and in one so young, extraordinary success, Mr. HAYNE was no doubt much indebted to the firm and decided stand which he had taken in support of Mr. Madison's administration, and the war. Party spirit,

at that period, ran high. The city of Charleston was nearly equally divided in relation to the war, and upon all the other great questions which were then so warmly contested by the political parties of that day, Mr. Hayne, upon all public occasions, avowed his opinions boldly, and displayed unusual zeal and energy in support of the principles he had espoused, and of the national character and honor. On the 4th of July, 1814, particularly, he delivered the annual oration as the organ of the democratic party, and of this performance it is certainly but justice to remark, that as none of the kind have ever been better composed, or more forcibly delivered, so not one, perhaps, has ever been attended with more triumphant effect upon the feelings and understandings of an audience, or upon the political fortunes of its author. It was towards the close of the same year in which that oration was delivered, that he was elected, as above mentioned, to the legislature of the state.

Mr. Hayne was now in his proper element, a deliberative assembly. Upon taking his seat, he was chosen chairman of the military committee, then the most important in the house—and having at the same time received the appointment from the governor, of quarter-master-general of the state, he acted a very conspicuous part, not only in preparing and arranging the military defences of the state, but in all the most important business of legislation, and especially in originating, advocating, or supporting all such measures as were best calculated to strengthen the arm of the federal government in the honorable contest in which it was then engaged.

After having served five years in the house of representatives, during which he had deservedly acquired the reputation of one of the principal debaters on the floor, Mr. Hayne was unanimously chosen speaker of that body, and presided over its deliberations during the session of 1818. No stronger proof need be given than this, of the high estimation to which he had risen at the early age of twenty-seven. The occupancy of that chair, at such an age, is a compliment which has been awarded to him alone, nor is it more than common justice to say, that he proved himself worthy of the flattering distinction by his perfect acquaintance with, and prompt and exact discharge of, all its important duties, and by the general satisfaction which he gave in the impartiality of his conduct, and the amenity of his manners.

Of this satisfaction with his conduct as speaker, and of the rank which he held as a lawyer and an orator, a very honorable proof was quickly given, for at the close of the very first session of the legislature over which he had presided, he was unanimously elected to the

office of attorney-general of the state; an office not only highly important and responsible in itself, but one which had never been filled by any but the most eminent lawyers in the state. It may be proper also, here to state, that shortly after his election as attorney-general, Mr. HAYNE was offered the appointment, by President Monroe, of attorney of the United States for the district of South Carolina, which he declined.

Mr. HAYNE continued to serve as attorney-general for four years, at the expiration of which, in December, 1822, (having just then attained his thirty-first year,) he was chosen senator to congress for six years from the 4th of March, 1823. To this station he was reëlected in 1828, without opposition, for another period of six years.

The character and public services of General HAYNE, open a wide field; but our limits rather restrict us to an outline, than permit us to fill up and develop all the features of the picture.

As a lawyer, General HAYNE was deeply skilled in the principles of the science, and always happy and judicious in their application. His forensic displays exhibit great versatility of powers, and an admirable union of all the essential requisites of oratorical distinction. Comprehensive in his views, lucid in his arrangement, and possessed at the same time of the very happiest mode of public speaking, he was equally successful in convincing the understanding of the court, and in enlisting and controlling the feelings of the jury. Liberal in practice, and courteous in demeanor, he not only never took an unfair advantage of an opponent, but always extended the hand of kindness to those of the profession who required his aid. Of him it may be truly said, that as he had no superior in legal learning at the Charleston bar, so few approached him in eloquence, or in public estimation. No man was ever more popular in his profession, or more regretted, as the loss of a distinguished ornament, when he was removed to a higher sphere.

But it is as a statesman and an orator, that General HAYNE is best known to the Union at large; and it is to his displays and services in the senate of the United States, that he is principally indebted for the reputation which he now has. Although scarcely of the constitutional age, when he first took his seat in the senate, he soon attained a very distinguished rank among the enlightened and experienced politicians who composed it. Amongst his first efforts, was his speech against the tariff of 1824, in which he exhibited the views of the state he represented, and forcibly exposed what he considered the impolitic and ruinous tendency of the restrictive system. He soon after ori-

ginated and zealously supported a general bankrupt law, which, although it did not succeed, was not the less demanded by the necessities of the country, or the principles of justice. His speeches in reference to that bill have been justly and universally admired as very able arguments in reference to a great question of constitutional and mercantile law. As chairman of the naval committee of the senate, he deservedly obtained high commendation, both for his intimate knowledge of the wants and details of the navy, and for his patriotic devotion to its interests and honor. It is to him that the nation is indebted for the excellent law for the gradual improvement of the navy, and preservation of ship timber, and for several other acts which have tended greatly to increase its usefulness, perfect its discipline, and preserve its popularity. These were not, however, the only acts which he originated, or the only matters which engaged his attention as a senator. Few members of the senate were more attentive to business, or took a more active part in general legislation. But of all his displays in that body, none, perhaps, have been so universally or so highly admired, as his two speeches, and particularly the last, in the "great debate" upon Mr. Foot's resolution respecting the surveys of the public lands. As a constitutional argument, his second speech upon that occasion will rank with any ever delivered in the senate. "Cogent and masterly in its reasoning—keen and delicate in its irony —pure, perspicuous, and elevated in its style, it exhibits," says a correspondent, "a profound knowledge of the true principles of our constitution, and of the relative rights and duties of the federal and state governments; exposes the fallacy and danger of constructive doctrines, and has already done much to bring the federal government back to its original limits and intentions, and to revive and reëstablish the principles of Jeffersonian democracy. As an effort of intellect, it will rank amongst the highest in the annals of American eloquence; and as a faithful exposition of the true structure and objects of the American confederacy, it will be regarded as a text book by the supporters of the sovereignty of the states in every section of the union."

History has already recorded the events of the latter part of the year 1832, and of the commencement of 1833. The opposition against the protective policy in South Carolina, which had for many years existed, had acquired such strength in the first mentioned year, that the legislature, assembled in special session, enacted a law, on the 26th of October, for the convocation of a convention of the people of the state, for the purpose of taking "into consideration the several acts of the congress of the United States, imposing duties on foreign im

ports, for the protection of domestic manufactures, or, for other unauthorized objects, to determine on the character thereof, and to devise the means of redress, &c." Of this convention Mr. HAYNE was elected a member from Charleston, the place of his residence, and when that body, on the 24th of November, adopted the celebrated ordinance of nullification, he voted with the majority. In December following, he was elected by the legislature, governor of the state, and was inaugurated on the 11th of that month, resigning his seat in the senate of the United States, which was filled by the election of Mr. Calhoun, who had vacated the post of vice-president. As governor of the state, Mr. HAYNE was very soon called upon to act. The proclamation of the president, issued on the 10th of December, in relation to the proceedings of South Carolina, reached Columbia in a very few days, and was met by a counter proclamation from governor HAYNE, expressed in terms of lofty defiance, on the 20th of the same month. The warlike aspect of these two documents, exhibiting on the one hand a determination to put down South Carolina by force, and on the other, a fixed resolution to resist unto death, very naturally excited an alarm for the safety of the Union, in all parts of the United States, which predisposed the majority of the people in favor of conciliatory measures. In South Carolina, preparations of the most vigorous and efficient kind were every where made for the defence of the state, and in these arrangements the governor took an active and conspicuous part. The proceedings which took place in congress on the 2d of March, 1833, are too well known to need a recapitulation here. Suffice it to say that the simultaneous passage of a bill modifying the tariff, and of one designed to enforce the collection of the revenue, put an end to the apprehensions of an approaching conflict between the federal government and the state of South Carolina, which induced the convention, on the 15th of March, to enact an ordinance, repealing the previous one of the 24th of November. Of this convention, Governor HAYNE was elected president at its second session, which commenced on the 11th of March, and closed on the 18th; General Hamilton having previously resigned.

From this memorable epoch until the month of December, 1834, Governor HAYNE continued in the executive chair, though not without having subjects of exciting interest to demand his solicitude. The spirit of party in South Carolina, had not been appeased by the settlement of the dispute with the government at Washington. The predominant party were desirous of enforcing obedience to the state in all future conflicts, by demanding an oath of allegiance, whilst the mi-

nority threatened resistance to any law which should be designed to exact it. In casting oil upon these troubled waters, Governor HAYNE was mainly instrumental, by putting forth a proclamation enjoining obedience to the decision of the court of appeals, which pronounced unconstitutional a military oath enjoined by the legislature, in opposition to the decided opinion entertained by the party in power. Perhaps to this wise and prudent course of the governor, may be traced that gradual relaxation of the spirit that urged the enforcement of an oath of allegiance, which subsequently terminated in the reconciliation of the two parties in the legislature, commemorated by the almost unanimous election of Mr. M'Duffie as governor of the state, and the abandonment of the bill designed to exact an oath of allegiance.

In his valedictory message, Governor HAYNE signified his wish to pass the residue of his days in retirement from public life; but in this desire he could scarcely expect to be indulged.

The great characteristics of Mr. HAYNE's mind, were comprehensiveness, clearness, and strength. He readily perceived and embraced the strong points of a subject, and, directing all his energies to them, omitted those which were only minor or incidental. His speeches, therefore, whether long or short, were generally strictly confined to the subject before him; nor did he indulge in unnecessary amplification, or occupy time with the discussion of irrelevant or subordinate topics. He never spoke for the sake of speaking. He was always more intent upon ideas, than words—more desirous to convince, than shine. His style, therefore, had none of those little arts or affectations which are usually more designed to tickle the ear, than to inform the sense. Let it not be supposed, however, that his speeches were not polished, as well as vigorous, beautified by ornament, as well as recommended by intelligence. Argument, indeed, was his forte, but he also possessed, and often drew into requisition, extensive stores of classical literature, and the rich and varied resources of an active and fertile imagination. If he did not abound in metaphors and similes, his illustrations were natural and apt, and always strengthened what they were intended to embellish. His speeches, in fact, may be consulted with equal advantage, as sources of political information, or as furnishing a happy specimen of that finished style which ought ever to be aimed at in parliamentary debate.

Generally mild and persuasive, he was frequently, notwithstanding, vehement and impassioned; and though he preferred to reason or persuade, he often dealt out invective with no sparing hand. His style,

indeed, was always admirably adapted to his subject, and his readers are often astonished and delighted by vivid bursts of indignation, or by exquisite appeals to the best feelings of their hearts. His voice was full and melodious, and his manner earnest and impressive. Full of ingenuous sensibility, his eyes were as expressive as his tongue, and as he poured out his thoughts or feelings, either in a strain of captivating sweetness, or of impetuous and overbearing passion, every emotion of his soul was distinctly depicted in the lineaments of his countenance. When he did not convince, he delighted, and even prejudice itself hung charmed upon his lips.

Mr. Hayne was a man of commanding height of person, though not among the tallest; neither spare nor delicate, yet of a form inclining to the slender. His hair was of a light color, and rather lank, strongly contrasting with the then deep black of Webster's massive head, now more thinly covered with hair. His mind was active, energetic, and aggressive. He was full of enthusiasm, altogether in earnest; when he spoke, every limb of his body, and every feature of his countenance sympathised with the action of his mind. Inherently and absolutely he was a very able man. He assumed burdens, however, in which he was not sustained according to his expectation. Mental anxiety may have contributed to impair the energies of his physical organization. Just at the time when he seemed to have attained the meridian of his powers, and to have gained a very high degree of public confidence, he was seized with bilious fever, and died September 24, 1841, in the 48th year of his age.

No man was ever more distinguished for public spirit, and an ardent devotion to the welfare of his country, than General Hayne. To the great railroad enterprise, of which he was the soul as well as the head, he devoted himself with his characteristic zeal and energy, sustaining it equally by his business talent, and his persuasive eloquence. To the very last he was planning improvements for the benefit of his native state. Though steadfast in his own political principles, he was without a particle of intolerance towards his opponents; and in all the relations of domestic life, he was beloved and respected, amiable and affectionate, pure and irreproachable.

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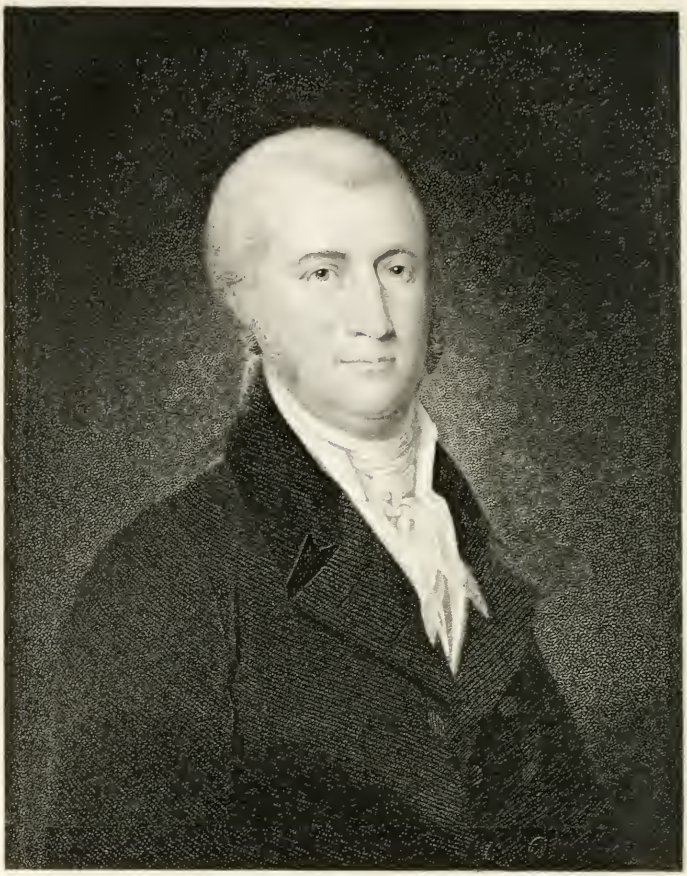

J. A. Bayard

JAMES A. BAYARD.

The work of which the present article forms a part, being in its biographical portion merely auxiliary to the talent of the engraver, requires nothing beyond a mere sketch of the principal incidents of life, especially of such as connect the individual with public affairs; and, although in the present instance, the notice of those incidents would naturally lead to a discussion of many interesting points in the history of the country, and of its political parties, yet the limits and design of the work forbid in relation to them, any thing more than a passing notice.

James A. Bayard was born in the city of Philadelphia, on the 28th July, 1767. He was the second son of Doctor James A. Bayard, a physician of promising talents and increasing reputation, but who died on the 8th January, 1770, at an early period of life.

Doctor Bayard was the brother of Colonel John Bayard, who, during the revolutionary war, was a member of the council of safety, and many years speaker of the legislature of Pennsylvania. Their father, whose name was James, married a Miss Ashton. The family were originally of French extraction, but being Huguenots, and dreading that spirit of religious persecution which belonged to the age, they abandoned their native country, and came to North America some time prior to the revocation of the edict of Nantes.

A part of the family settled in the then province of New York, and one of them afterwards selected Cecil county, in the province of Maryland, for his future residence, from whom James Bayard, the grandfather of the subject of our present notice, was descended.

Mr. Bayard having been left an orphan at a very early age, was placed under the guardianship of his uncle, Colonel John Bayard, in whose family he lived for several years. His education was, in the first instance intrusted to the Rev. Mr. Smith, a respectable clergyman of Lancaster county, with whom he remained some time, but eventually he returned to his uncle's family, and pursued his studies under the direction of a private tutor until his admission into Princeton college.

At that place he spent the usual period allotted to collegiate life, and graduated on the 28th September, 1784, at little more than the age of seventeen years; but from the early development of those talents, and that industry which distinguished him in after life, he succeeded in obtaining the highest honor of the institution.

Upon leaving college, Mr. Bayard returned to Philadelphia, and having selected the profession of the law for his future occupation, he commenced his studies under General Joseph Reed, the former president of Pennsylvania, and after his death, in 1785, resumed and concluded them under the direction of the late Jared Ingersoll, Esq.

Being now prepared to enter upon the busy scene of life, Mr. Bayard resolved to pursue the practice of his profession in the adjoining state of Delaware, and with that view was admitted to the bar at the August term of the court of common pleas for the county of Newcastle, in the year 1787, when he was little more than twenty years of age.

The first years of his professional life he devoted to severe study, during which time he attained that familiar and exact knowledge of the principles of political science, and of general jurisprudence, which in after life were alike serviceable to him at the bar and in congress.

On the 11th February, 1795, he was married to Miss Bassett, the eldest daughter of Richard Bassett, Esq., who was subsequently governor of the state of Delaware.

Shortly after his marriage, Mr. Bayard became actively connected with the dominant party in the state, and in October, 1796, was elected a member of congress, and took his seat in the house of representatives on the 22d of May, 1797, at the first session of the fifth congress, which had been convened by the proclamation of the president, in consequence of the existing difficulties with France.

Immediately upon his appearance in congress, Mr. Bayard became prominent for his zeal, industry, ability, and knowledge; and was at the first session appointed one of the committee to prepare and report articles of impeachment against William Blount, a senator of the United States; being the first instance of a resort to that high constitutional proceeding. In the subsequent session of that congress, he was elected one of the committee to conduct the impeachment on the part of the house, and became chairman of the committee on the appointment of Mr. Sitgreaves, who had originally filled that station, as commissioner under the sixth article of the treaty with Great Britain.

On this occasion a plea to the jurisdiction of the senate, on the ground that a senator is not a civil officer within the meaning of the

constitution, having been filed by the counsel of Mr. Blount, who were men of great learning and ability, an opportunity was presented, in the discussion to which it gave rise, for the display of those talents and that knowledge for which Mr. BAYARD was eminent. The senate, however, by a small majority sustained the plea.

The period to which we now refer was one of strong party excitement; and no event was suffered to pass unnoticed by those in the opposition, which it was supposed might bring the administration into disrepute with the people. The case of Thomas Nash *alias* Jonathan Robbins, was one therefore not to be neglected. Thomas Nash, who artfully represented himself to have been an impressed American seaman, had committed piracy and murder on board the British frigate Hermione while at sea, and having been arrested in Charleston on that charge, was demanded by the British minister, under the twenty-seventh article of the treaty with Great Britain, to be delivered up to his government for trial. The president of the United States had advised and requested the district judge of South Carolina, before whom the case was depending, to deliver him up on receiving the evidence of criminality stipulated by the treaty; this was accordingly done, and he was afterward tried by a court martial and executed.

The whole matter was communicated to congress by the president; and Mr. Livingston, on the 20th February, 1800, submitted to the house of representatives two resolutions, condemning the conduct of the president as a "dangerous interference of the executive with judicial decisions," and the compliance of the judge as a "sacrifice of the constitutional independence of the judicial power, exposing it to suspicion and reproach." The discussion which followed called into action the talents of the friends as well as of the opponents of the administration. The propriety of the course pursued by the president was sustained and successfully vindicated by Mr. BAYARD and Chief Justice Marshall, who was then a member of the house from Virginia. Judge Marshall, who followed Mr. BAYARD in the debate, in one of those luminous and irresistible arguments which characterize the vigorous and logical mind of that eminently distinguished man, opened his speech with the following observations: "Believing as he did most seriously, that in a government constituted like that of the United States, much of the public happiness depended, not only on its being rightly administered, but on the measures of the administration being rightly understood; on rescuing public opinion from those numerous prejudices with which so many causes must combine to surround it; he could not but have been highly gratified with the

very eloquent, and what was still more valuable, the very able and very correct argument which had been delivered by the gentleman from Delaware (Mr. Bayard) against the resolutions now under consideration. He had not expected that the effect of this argument would have been universal, but he had cherished the hope, and in this he had not been disappointed, that it would be very extensive. He did not flatter himself with being able to shed much new light on the subject, but as the argument in opposition to the resolutions had been assailed with considerable ability by gentlemen of great talent, he trusted the house would not think the time misapplied which would be devoted to the reëstablishment of the principles contained in that argument, and to the refutation of those advanced in opposition to it." The resolutions were rejected by a vote of sixty-one to thirty-five.

Mr. Bayard had been reëlected to congress in October, 1798, and was again elected in October, 1800, at a period when the highest party feeling prevailed. The event which we have now occasion to notice, was one which called for the exertion on his part of the greatest discretion, firmness, and magnanimity. At the presidential election which took place in November, 1800, the greatest number and majority of electoral votes which were in favor of Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr, the democratic candidates, being equal, the election devolved upon the house of representatives. The mass of the federal party throughout the country, and most of the federal members of the house, deprecated the elevation of Mr. Jefferson to the presidential office, as an event that would be fatal to the federal government, and to the existing constitution. The greatest excitement prevailed, and the two parties viewed each other with feelings of mutual jealousy and distrust. The federalists seriously believed, that it was the design of their opponents, and particularly of Mr. Jefferson as their chief, to abase if not to destroy the federal government. With this belief, and the apprehensions and feelings resulting from it, the federal members of the house of representatives were called upon by that constitution to choose between the two candidates.

The one was known to be decidedly hostile to federal principles and federal men; the other, though belonging to the same party, and standing high in its estimation, as well as in that of his fellow candidate, was yet less distinctly marked by his principles, and believed to be less visionary in his politics. The federal members of the house had several meetings for the purpose of consulting on the subject of the election; among whom there existed many shades of opinion, both as to the possibility of electing Mr. Burr, and as to the expediency of

attempting it: they formed the majority of the house, though not of the states. Mr. Huger, of South Carolina, absolutely refused to vote for him; and Mr. Dent, of Maryland, declared his determination to vote for Mr. Jefferson. Among those who acquiesced with most reluctance in the course ultimately adopted, were Mr. BAYARD and Messrs. Baer and Craik, of Maryland. Mr. BAYARD, though he believed Mr. Burr to be personally better qualified for president, thought it vain to make the attempt, but to use his own words, "was chiefly influenced by the current of public sentiment, which he thought it neither safe nor politic to counteract." General Hamilton, than whom no man out of congress enjoyed a larger share of the confidence of the party, or exerted greater influence over its movements, was decidedly opposed to the step, and in a correspondence with Mr. BAYARD earnestly advocated the election of Mr. Jefferson. The majority of the federal members were, however, in favor of Mr. Burr; and many of them would have preferred to defeat the election altogether, rather than choose Mr. Jefferson. Mr. BAYARD, out of deference to the opinion of the majority, agreed to make an attempt to elect Mr. Burr; but with the fixed determination that there should be a president chosen, and that the election should not be protracted beyond a reasonable period.

Messrs. Baer and Craik, of Maryland, and General Morris, of Vermont, entertaining the same views and opinions, concurred with him in this resolution; and they entered into mutual engagements to support each other in that course. It was in the power of any one of these gentlemen to terminate the election at any moment. The balloting in the house commenced on the 11th February, 1801, and terminated on the 17th February, without any adjournment. On the first ballot, it was ascertained that Mr. Jefferson had eight states, Mr. Burr six states, and that two states, Maryland and Vermont, were divided. As there were sixteen states, Mr. Jefferson wanted the vote of one state, which might have been given, either by Mr. BAYARD, who held the vote of the state of Delaware, or by General Morris, who held the divided vote of Vermont, or by either Mr. Baer or Mr. Craik, who held the divided vote of Maryland. These gentlemen, possessing an absolute control over the election, so far as regarded the certainty of making a president and the duration of the contest, authorized Mr. BAYARD to exercise his own discretion as to the precise period it should terminate, and pledged themselves to abide by his decision. Mr. BAYARD then took pains to ascertain what were the probabilities of success; and becoming convinced that it was hopeless, and being resolved not to hazard the constitution and the safety of the union, he

determined to put an end to the contest. Previously to this, however, he was induced to believe, from the representation of some of the intimate friends of Mr. Jefferson, that he would observe in his administration those great points of policy which, being intimately connected with the prosperity of the country, the federal party had most at heart.

On the 19th February, 1801, Mr. BAYARD was appointed minister to France by John Adams, whose presidential term did not expire until the 4th of March following. Nothing could under any other circumstances have been more gratifying to his feelings; but from the delicate situation in which he had been placed by the late presidential election, he instantly declined the appointment, and on the same day addressed to the president the following letter:—

WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY 19TH, 1801.

SIR,—

I beg you to accept my thanks for the honor conferred on me by the nomination as minister to the French Republic. Under most circumstances, I should have been extremely gratified with such an opportunity of rendering myself serviceable to the country; but the delicate situation in which the late presidential election has placed me, forbids my exposing myself to the suspicion of having adopted from impure motives the line of conduct I pursued. Representing the smallest state in the union, without resources which could furnish the means of self-protection, I was compelled by the obligation of a sacred duty so to act, as not to hazard the constitution upon which the political existence of the state depends. The service I should have to render by accepting the appointment, would be under the administration of Mr. Jefferson; and having been in the number of those who withdrew themselves from the opposition to his election, it is impossible for me to take an office, the tenure of which would be at his pleasure. You will therefore pardon me, sir, for begging you to accept my resignation of the appointment.

I have the honor to be,
With perfect consideration,
Your very obedient servant,

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. JAMES A. BAYARD.

In writing on the 22d February, 1801, three days subsequently, to one who was both a near relation and an intimate friend, Mr. BAYARD says—

"You are right in your conjecture as to the office offered me. I have since been nominated minister to France, concurred in *nem. con.*, commissioned, and resigned. Under proper circumstances, the acceptance would have been complete gratification; but under the existing, I thought the resignation most honorable. To have taken eighteen thousand dollars out of the public treasury with a knowledge that no service could be rendered by me, as the French government would have waited for a man who represented the existing feelings and views of the government, would have been disgraceful. Another consideration of great weight arose from the part I took in the presidential election. As I had given the turn to the election, it was impossible for me to accept an office which would be held on the tenure of Mr. Jefferson's pleasure. My ambition shall never be

gratified at the expense of a suspicion. I shall never lose sight of the motto of the great original of our name."

Among the first acts of those who now came into power, was the repeal of the act passed on the 13th February, 1801, "to provide for the more convenient organization of the courts of the United States," which had divided the United States into six circuits, and provided a system of circuit courts for the administration of justice. The organization of this system, and the appointment of the judges under it towards the close of Mr. Adams' administration, gave particular umbrage to Mr. Jefferson; and as the constitution would not permit the removal of the judges, who held their office during good behaviour, it was determined to cut the Gordian knot, and to get rid of the judges by destroying the system. This measure produced one of the most memorable struggles in the political history of the country. On this occasion, Mr. BAYARD, who on the part of the majority was called the Goliah of the adverse party, and sarcastically denominated the high priest of the constitution, made one of his most eloquent and powerful speeches; but party spirit demanded the sacrifice, and it was made.

In November, 1804, Mr. BAYARD was elected by the legislature of Delaware a senator of the United States, for the unexpired term of Mr. Wells, who had resigned that office; and in February, 1805, was again elected by the legislature a senator for the ensuing term of six years.

So hasty a sketch as the present will not permit more than a passing notice of prominent events; and we shall here, therefore, simply remark, that while he pursued with great success and reputation, his profession at home, he was alike distinguished in public life for the great ability and zeal with which he largely participated in the transactions of the day.

Certain resolutions introduced in the senate, in the year 1809, by Mr. Giles, gave occasion for the delivery on the part of Mr. BAYARD of a very able speech against the embargo system, which had commenced in December, 1807.

It was in June, 1812, that the president communicated to congress his message recommending a declaration of war against Great Britain. On this occasion, Mr. BAYARD, who had been reëlected by the legislature of Delaware, in the year 1811, a senator for another period of six years, did not deny that there were sufficient causes for war, but insisted that the measure was premature; that it should be postponed for a few months, to furnish time for the return of our ships and seamen, and of the immense amount of property which was either in the ports of Great Britain or afloat on the ocean, as well as for putting

the country in a situation for offensive and defensive operations With this view, he moved, on the 16th June, to postpone the further consideration of the bill declaring war against Great Britain, to the 31st of October. In his speech in support of this motion, he observed that he was greatly influenced in making it, "by the combined considerations of the present defenceless condition of the country, and the protection which Providence has given us against a maritime power in the winter season. During the winter months, you will be protected by the elements. Postpone the war until November, and you will not have to dread an enemy on our coast till April. In the mean time go on with your recruiting, fill up, discipline, and train your army. Take the station, if you please, which will enable you to open an early campaign. Your trade will all have time to return before hostilities commence; and having all your ships and seamen at home, you may be prepared to put forth all your strength upon the ocean, on the opening of the ensuing spring. Shall we by an untimely precipitancy, yielding to a fretful impatience of delay, throw our wealth into the hands of the enemy, and feed that very rapacity which it is our object to subdue or to punish?"

War, however, was declared on the 18th June; and Mr. Bayard, whose heart was truly American, and who never suffered any influence or inferior motive to interfere with his duty to his country, was prompt in advising the adoption of such measures and such line of conduct as its safety and honor demanded. He was the chairman of the committee of safety in the place of his residence, (Wilmington,) and, at the head of his fellow-citizens, was the first to assist with his own hands in the erection of the temporary defences of the town. His prevailing and uniform sentiment was that of devotion to the welfare and honor of his country, which demanded the sacrifice of all minor considerations.

Shortly after the intelligence of this event reached St. Petersburg, the emperor of Russia offered his mediation to both nations, to promote the restoration of peace. The president of the United States determined to accept the offer, without waiting to know whether Great Britain would do so likewise, and, on the 17th April, 1813, appointed Mr. Bayard, together with Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Adams, ministers plenipotentiary, for the purpose of negotiating a peace, with further power, in case of a successful issue, to make a treaty of commerce. This appointment was entirely unexpected on the part of Mr. Bayard, and was accepted by him from an imperious sense of duty to his country, with the hope of rendering her some service, and with the confidence

that his acceptance of it could be attended with no mischief. In a letter addressed to the secretary of state, (Mr. Monroe,) on 5th May, 1813, after stating his receipt of the instructions prepared for the mission, and that there was nothing in them of doubtful construction, or which he could not cordially promote, he intimates a doubt whether the chief point of difficulty (the impressment of seamen) was placed on a practicable footing; requiring as they did, a stipulation against impressment, as a *sine quâ non*. The event proved that he was right. On the 9th May, 1813, Mr. Bayard and Mr. Gallatin departed from the United States, in the Neptune, on their mission to join Mr. Adams, who was then at St. Petersburg in the capacity of American minister. After a stormy and disagreeable passage, they arrived at St. Petersburg, on the 21st July following, having travelled by land from Revel, where they had disembarked. The emperor was then absent with his army at a distance of more than a thousand miles from his capitol. They were presented to the empress, and received by the chancellor Romanzoff in their official capacity; but they could obtain no satisfactory intelligence as to the intentions of the British government, in relation to the object of their mission. After remaining six months in St. Petersburg, and becoming satisfied that the British government did not mean to accept the mediation, although they could not obtain from count Romanzoff any official acknowledgment of that fact, Mr. Bayard and Mr. Gallatin determined to leave Russia, and accordingly departed from St. Petersburg on the 25th January, 1814. They travelled by land through Berlin to Amsterdam, a distance of more than one thousand five hundred miles, and arrived in the latter place on the 4th March following. There they received despatches from the government, apprising them of the fact, that Great Britain had refused the mediation of the emperor of Russia, but had offered to negotiate directly, either at London or at Gottenburg; and that the president having acceded to this proposition, and selected the latter place, they were to repair to that point. On the 18th January, 1814, the president appointed Mr. Bayard, in conjunction with Messrs. Adams, Clay, Russell, and Gallatin, ministers plenipotentiary, to negotiate directly with Great Britain. Messrs. Clay and Russell sailed from the United States on the 25th February, and arrived at Gottenburg on the 14th April. At that time, Mr. Bayard and Mr. Gallatin were in London, whither they had gone on the 10th of that month.

On the 13th May, soon after the receipt of their despatches, they communicated the fact of their appointment to Lord Castlereagh. A few days afterward, they received a note from Lord Bathurst, sug-

gesting the substitution of Ghent in preference to Gottenburg, as the seat of the negotiation, which was subsequently acceded to by the American ministers. Mr. BAYARD left London on the 23d May, and, arriving in Paris on the 28th, left it on the 15th June for Ghent, where he arrived on the 27th of the same month, and found Mr. Adams and Mr. Russell. In a few days, they were joined by Messrs. Clay and Gallatin; the members of the mission having been informed that they might expect the arrival of the British ministers about the 1st of July. The latter, however, did not arrive until the 6th August; and on the next day the negotiations commenced, which terminated in a treaty of peace, which was signed on the 24th December, 1814.

Mr. BAYARD left Ghent on the 7th January, 1815, and arrived in Paris on the 11th of the same month; here he designed to remain until it should be necessary to repair to London, to assist with the other members of the mission, in the negotiation of a treaty of commerce with Great Britain, with which they had also been charged. On the 4th March, however, he was attacked with the disease which was to prove fatal to his life. After severe suffering and a confinement for most of the period to his chamber, he left Paris in a state of great debility on the 10th of May, and embarking immediately on his arrival at Havre, the vessel sailed for Plymouth, where she arrived on the 14th of the same month. Here, in daily expectation of the arrival of Mr. Clay from London, who was to take passage in the same ship, he was detained for five weeks, during which time he was unable to leave his berth, but remained in a state of excessive suffering and alarming debility. The appointment of minister to Russia had been conferred on him by the president, and confirmed by the senate; but he promptly declined its acceptance. At length the ship was ordered to sail, and arriving in the Delaware on the 1st of August, Mr. BAYARD found himself once more, after an absence of more than two years, in the bosom of his family. But it was only to receive their welcome, and to mingle the tears of joy at his return with those of grief for their final separation. He expired on the 6th August, 1815, at the age of forty-eight years, and that Providence which saw fit to remove him from this life, in the maturity of his powers, and the highest capability of usefulness, indulged the fond wish of his heart, to embrace once more his wife and children, and draw his last breath in the land of his nativity.

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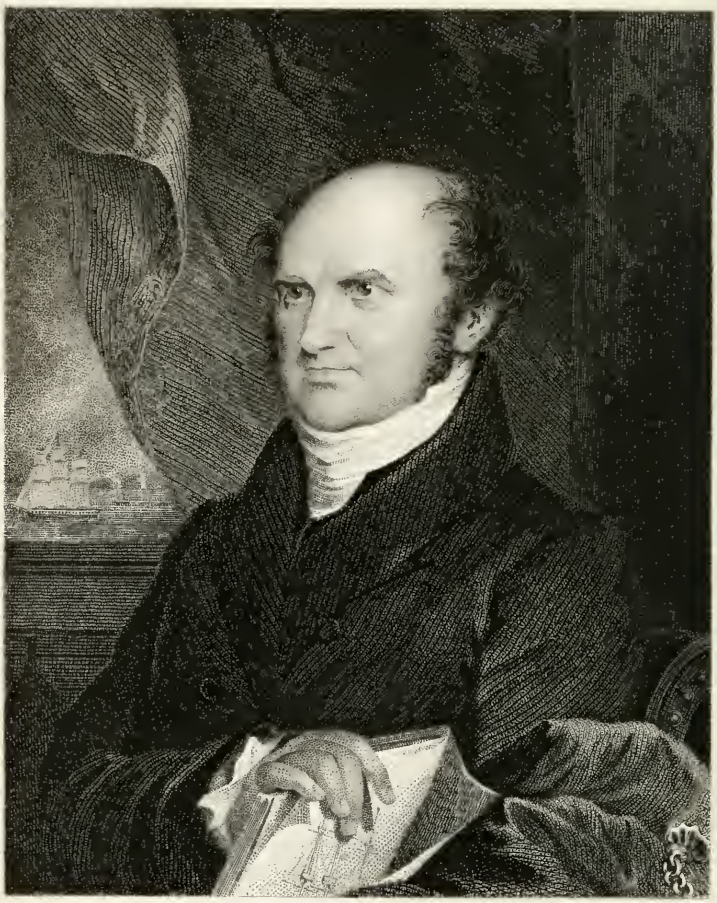

Levi Woodbury

LEVI WOODBURY.

In the state of society and the form of government which exists in this country, the biography of individuals distinguished in our contemporary annals for the industry, ability, and success with which they have discharged the duties of civil life, is of the highest value. Those who read for mere amusement will not probably find in such notices so much attractive and interesting matter, as in animated details "of moving accidents by flood and field." But a sketch of the progress of individual men from the common level of society to the most conspicuous stations in the government, cannot fail to produce a salutary effect upon the rising generation, as well as indicate to the reflection of mature age the proper basis of public confidence. The plan of this work does not permit us to present at length the grounds and arguments, upon which political measures have been assailed and defended by their friends and opponents. All that has been undertaken with regard to politicians, is to give such leading facts as may have come to our knowledge, which will serve to throw light upon their education and introduction into public life, together with a succinct narrative of the most important situations in which they have been placed: leaving those readers who are desirous to obtain more minute particulars of personal history, to recur to other sources of information.

Levi Woodbury, in every view a very estimable man, was a native of the state of New Hampshire. He was born at Francistown, in the county of Hillsborough, about the beginning of 1790. His ancestors were among the early settlers of Beverly, one of the first plantations of the colony of Massachusetts, whence his father, Peter Woodbury, emigrated when quite young. With the exception of a few months spent at a permanent seminary, the elementary education of Mr. Woodbury was acquired in the free schools kept in his native village, in pursuance of those laws which are justly regarded as the pride and glory of New England.

Young men in the course of education are frequently accustomed

in New Hampshire, as well as the other New England states, to bestow a part of their time upon instruction of these free schools in the country towns. Of her most distinguished sons, a large number have temporarily pursued the business of instruction in this manner. The habits of responsible and circumspect deportment induced by this custom, are in themselves an essential branch of practical education. Mr. Woodbury was several times thus employed. It may be mentioned as a striking instance of the confidence placed in his capacity and discretion at an early age, that he was engaged to instruct a large school at Pepperell, Massachusetts, in his fourteenth year, and discharged his duty to the entire satisfaction of his employers.

In 1805, he entered Dartmouth college, and remained connected with this institution until 1809, when he graduated with a high reputation for talents and acquirements. His elevated rank as a scholar while in college, added to his subsequent well known devotion to literature, were probably the grounds which induced his *alma mater*, as early as 1824, to confer upon him the honorary degree of LL.D.

On leaving college, Mr. Woodbury attended the law school of Judge Reeve, at Litchfield, Connecticut, for a year, and spent the residue of the usual term of study preparatory to admission to the practice of law, at Boston, Exeter, and his native place. He was admitted to the bar in 1812, and immediately opened an office at Francistown.

The period at which Mr. Woodbury entered upon the business of active life was a crisis of the deepest political interest. War had just been declared against Great Britain. The whole population was arrayed in opposition, and in support of the policy and expediency of this measure. In the New England states, the discussions of party politics were carried on at this time with unparalleled zeal and intensity. Public meetings were held in every part of New Hampshire, at which speeches were made and resolutions adopted, expressive of the views of the respective parties, and circulated among all classes of society. The immediate friends of Mr. Woodbury were earnest supporters of the measures of the general government. The early impressions imbibed from that source, appear to have been accordant with his more mature opinions; since, notwithstanding his youth, he came forth publicly and took a high stand in these discussions. At a public meeting held at Weare, in the county of Hillsborough, soon after the declaration of war, a series of spirited

and eloquent resolutions, attributed to his pen, were adopted, which produced a decided effect upon the subsequent course of that county. But in all the other counties of the state, the party opposed to the measures of government prevailed, and retained a majority until 1816.

During this interval, Mr. Woodbury devoted himself to his profession. Few lawyers have so early been engaged in such extensive practice; still fewer have so rapidly attained such high professional reputation.

In 1816, the political friends of Mr. Woodbury obtained the ascendency in the state elections. On the meeting of the legislature, Mr. Woodbury was chosen secretary of the senate; and the January following, he was appointed one of the three judges of the superior court.

This appointment to the bench of the highest judicial tribunal of the state at an unprecedented early age, drew general attention to the manner in which the duties were discharged. It is but bare justice to say, that the most sanguine expectations of his friends were fully realized. The readiness of apprehension and reach of thought, combined with great firmness and moral courage, manifested by Mr. Woodbury in the trial of causes, rendered his conduct upon the bench a model of judicial deportment. His legal opinions evinced extensive research and accurate discrimination. Many of them have been published in the New Hampshire reports, and are held in high estimation by the profession.

In 1823, Mr. Woodbury was elected governor of New Hampshire. When his term of office had expired, he again returned to the bar, where his assistance was sought from every quarter of the state.

In 1825 he was elected representative from the town of Portsmouth, to which place he had removed in 1819, upon his marriage with Miss Clapp, of Portland. On the meeting of the legislature he was chosen speaker of the house of representatives; and near the close of the session was elected a member of the senate of the United States.

At the commencement of the session of 1825–6, Mr. Woodbury took his seat in the senate. During the six years succeeding, his name was connected with the most important measures discussed in that body. At his first session, he took a decided part in the debate upon the Panama mission; a subject of universal interest at that time. To enumerate the various subjects upon which he offered his opinions at length, with great force and eloquence, would require us to transcribe the lists of the more important reports and bills before

the senate. For four successive sessions, he was chairman of the committee on commerce, in which capacity his report and speeches upon the Delaware breakwater, upon discriminating duties, and upon the West India trade, were considered as displaying uncommon ability. He was also a member of the committee upon agriculture, from which he made a much esteemed report against the salt duty. Upon the committee of naval affairs, he was long an active and useful member.

He was also placed upon various important select committees. Of that upon the petition of the surviving officers of the army of the revolution, composed of Messrs. Webster, Van Buren, Hayne, and Harrison, he was chosen chairman; and his report and speeches upon that subject placed the claims of that gallant band in the strongest light. Upon the report of the select committee raised on the concerns of the general post office, he was distinguished for his eloquence, as well as upon the bankrupt bill, and upon Mr. Foote's resolutions relative to the public lands.

For several sessions, Mr. Woodbury served upon the joint committee on the library of congress. His extensive acquaintance with general literature peculiarly fitted him for the duties of this situation. To his enlarged and systematic views as to the proper mode of filling up that collection, it is generally understood, it owes much of its utility and prosperity.

During his whole period of service in the senate, important duties devolved on Mr. Woodbury in his own state. At the intervals of the sessions of congress, he continued to be employed as counsel in the most important causes before the superior court. Such heavy sacrifices, both of pecuniary emolument and of domestic comfort, were demanded by these periodical absences from home, that on the approach of a new election of senator, in 1830, he addressed a letter to the governor, containing a request that it might be communicated to the legislature, declining a reëlection.

The term for which Mr. Woodbury was elected to the senate of the United States, expired on the 4th of March, 1830. At the annual state election, held on the eighth of March, some days afterwards, he was chosen a senator in the state legislature, for the district in which he resided.

His numerous friends at home, at that time expected that he would thenceforward remain among them. But on the reörganization of the cabinet, in the month of April following, he was invited by President Jackson to become a member of his cabinet, as secretary

of the navy. This invitation he found it impossible to decline. He accordingly signified his non-acceptance of the office of state senator, and forthwith returned to Washington and entered upon the duties of his office.

In the execution of these duties, Mr. Woodbury manifested his characteristic industry, zeal, and spirit of systematic arrangement. The officers of the navy always felt assured, that so far as it depended on the head of the department, the most rigid justice would be exercised in the distribution of their proportional burdens and privileges. The whole course of Mr. Woodbury in public office was distinguished for his energetic and fearless discharge of duty,—for his unwearied endeavors to ascertain with accuracy what that duty required, and for his disregard of labor, expense, or comfort, in fulfilling his public avocations with promptitude and impartiality.

After Mr. Woodbury had occupied the position of secretary of the navy for about three years, the senate thought proper to reject the nomination of Mr. Taney to the office of secretary of the treasury, in consequence of which Mr. Woodbury was appointed, and occupied that post till the close of Mr. Van Buren's presidency, when he resumed his seat in the senate, to which he had been elected for six years from the 4th of March, 1841. In the mean time, on the decease of Judge Story, during the administration of Mr. Polk, he was appointed to fill the place of that eminent jurist, and became a judge of the supreme court of the United States in 1846. From this time Mr. Woodbury withdrew from the active scenes of public life, and devoted himself entirely to the discharge of the duties of his high station, which he fulfilled with assiduity and success, till the period of his death, which took place at Portsmouth, in his native state, September 3, 1851, aged sixty-one years.

Mr. Woodbury presents to our young men a fine example for imitation. Without possessing the highest order of intellect, he had a large share of native shrewdness and unfailing quickness of political forecast, a very retentive memory, and a more than common power of logical reasoning. He was an effective speaker in public debate, and understood the art of bringing men over to his views, even if they failed to understand his arguments. In his style of writing he singularly failed. While in speaking he was universally acknowledged to show great clearness of intellect, in the use of his pen he was obscure and turgid. He made little use of the common artifices to obtain personal popularity; and it must be acknowledged that though he was much respected for great intelligence and solidity of character, he

never made much noise in the world, and was not what would be called a popular man; but few, however, have been more faithful. To what point soever his attention was turned, it was his first object so to examine it, that his aim might be directed with a clear eye and steady hand. He never looked for success until he faithfully applied his earnest efforts. Calm reflection, a judicious method, both in his private studies and official engagements, and above all, a resolute and intrepid adherence to whatever he conscientiously believed his duty, enabled him to go forward, with a firm and sure step, to the elevation of honor and public trust to which he was raised. Whatever he determined on, he fully accomplished.

In a sketch like the present, the private life of Mr. Woodbury can be but alluded to. Here he was all that could be desired; alike free from blemish, and full of excellence. His tastes and habits led him to the extensive cultivation of science and literature. He was one of the earliest members of the New Hampshire Historical Society, to whose public collections he was an acceptable contributor. He was also a member of several other scientific and literary societies of our country, by all of whose members he was very highly esteemed.

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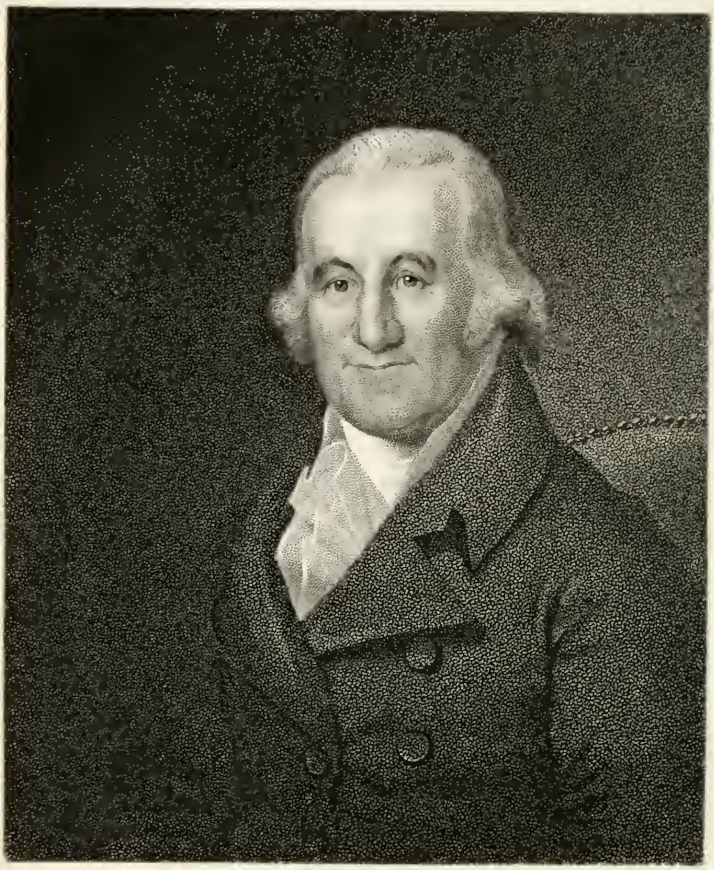

CASPAR WISTAR, M. D.

Among the individuals of our country, whose talents and example have been most serviceable in establishing the profession of medicine on its present footing, may be ranked without fear of contradiction, the late Professor Wistar. As a disinterested and faithful physician, an ardent lover of the sciences, an indefatigable teacher, and a genuine philanthropist, his character may always be examined with pleasure and instruction.

Dr. Wistar was of German descent on the father's side, being the grandson of Caspar Wistar, who emigrated from the dominions of the Elector Palatine in 1717. On the maternal side he was of English origin, his grandfather, Bartholomew Wyatt, having reached this country shortly after William Penn had commenced the settlement of Pennsylvania. His father was a man of great firmness of character, and bestowed much pains on the moral and religious training of his children.

The subject of this notice was born in Philadephia, September 13th, 1761. His parents being of the religious Society of Friends, he was educated in the principles of that body. His classical studies were also accomplished in an academy in Philadelphia belonging to them.

The first germs of fondness for the profession of medicine, were evolved in 1777, when he was only sixteen years of age, by the battle of Germantown. His religious principles withheld him from participating in the conflict itself, but they, together with his native humanity, prompted him to succor the wounded with such kind offices and attention, as the horrors of a fight render doubly estimable. The benignant and useful character of the profession of medicine on this occasion, made such an impression upon him, that he determined thenceforth to devote himself to its interests. He accordingly entered as a student into the office of Dr. John Redman of Philadelphia, and continued upwards of three years; the conclud-

ing year of his attendance was improved by his following the practice of Dr. John Jones, an eminent surgeon, who had left New York in consequence of its occupation by the British. In 1782, he graduated as a Bachelor of Medicine in the college of Philadelphia, an institution to whose reputation he was destined to contribute so largely at a subsequent period of life. As a student, he was distinguished by his zeal, his assiduity, and the promptitude and extent of his information, qualities which were well exhibited on the day of his examination. At that period the profession of medicine was divided into two sects of theorists, one advocating the doctrine of Lentor, invented by Boerhaave, and the other that of Spasm, originating with the no less celebrated Professor of Edinburgh, Dr. Cullen. A schism on this subject existed in the faculty of the college of Philadelphia, and as each professor required explanations conformably to the theory he was attached to, our candidate had to vary his answers so as to suit the predilection of the interrogator. This delicate task he executed with so much address and good sense, as to excite the highest admiration of the audience.

From his own country, Dr. Wistar repaired to Great Britain, where he remained three years. In Edinburgh, then the chief resort of Americans, he became highly distinguished for the same qualities which he had exhibited at home. He was there the friend and associate of Sir James M'Intosh, afterwards one of the leading members of the British Parliament—of Mr. Emmett, subsequently one of the most powerful and eminent members of the New York bar, and of Dr. Jeffray, since professor of Anatomy in the University, Glasgow. In the collision of such talent, Dr. Wistar wielded with great effect the weapons of debate, and obtained in the midst of these competitors the high honor of being made, for two successive years, president of the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh. In 1786, he graduated there as doctor of medicine, having written a thesis, entitled *De Animo Demisso.* The chief objects of his studies were anatomy, surgery, and chemistry. In January, 1787, he returned home, having left in Edinburgh a name which was most affectionately and respectfully remembered for a long time afterwards.

In the year 1792, Dr. Wistar became the associate of Dr. Shippen, after the latter had stood alone for thirty years, in his efforts to create a permanent school. This union grew out of the existence, from 1789 to 1792, of two medical institutions; the most recent of which had its origin from feelings generated by the revolutionary war. One of these schools, the eldest, belonged to the college of

Philadelphia, and the other to the university of the state of Pennsylvania. Dr. Shippen was professor of anatomy in both. In the year 1789, Dr. Wistar had been appointed professor of chemistry in the college; but before accepting, he hesitated much, lest by his acquiescence the consolidation of the two institutions, which he had much at heart, should be delayed or prevented. During his deliberations it occurred to him, that he could be much more efficient as a professor in procuring this union, than as a private individual; he therefore accepted the place of chemist, and in three years afterwards, had the satisfaction of seeing his wishes realized, and of reflecting that he himself had contributed largely, by his moderation and good management, to an arrangement which has since been so successful in developing the character and usefulness of the present institution, under the title of University of Pennsylvania.

Nature did not grant to Dr. Wistar that graceful and commanding exterior which she had lavished on Dr. Shippen, but even strangers were struck with the benignity of his countenance. Extreme suavity of deportment on every occasion of life, was his predominant mode of conduct. Many of his students remember the courteous and sprightly smile, with which he entered and departed from his lecture room. As a teacher, he allured them, by gentleness and affability, to flock round him on every occasion, and to ask him such questions as their want of information or misapprehension suggested. He was always on the alert to serve them in sickness, and to procure for them such places of profit and trust as his personal influence could control, but invariably, on such occasions, with a conscientious regard to his knowledge of their characters and to their qualifications. This principle of impartial, but merciful justice, always guided him in his decisions on the claims of candidates for medical degrees. Willing to attribute every deficiency to embarrassment, he only became convinced that it was ignorance, when every proper mode of inquiry repeatedly and leisurely tried, proved the incapacity of the candidate. In such cases his decisions were inflexible; as a conscientious man having a public trust of first rate importance, he never consented for any one to take a recognised appointment in the profession, with a smaller share of knowledge than what he conceived necessary to the practice of medicine. From the goodness of his heart, he felt more on many such occasions, for the candidate than the candidate felt for himself. His justice was evidently so impartial, and his goodness so conspicuous, that the slightest breath

of censure was never cast upon his proceeding, either by the fortunate or the unfortunate; on the contrary, their admiration of him had received a new impulse.

In his social intercourse he possessed unusual tact in communicating pleasure. Though gifted with unusual strength and cultivation of intellect, and possessing varied and immense resources of conversation, he, on every occasion, seemed more desirous to hear than to be heard. From this turn of mind, his conversation abounded, in a remarkable degree, in questions; he culled information in that way from every source, and where he found a deficiency, he imparted abundantly of his own stock. Many young men, on first obtaining the pleasure of his acquaintance, were struck with this peculiarity—he inquired concerning the mountains, the rivers, the natural productions, the manners of the section of country to which they belonged, and listened with patient and obvious satisfaction to their answers. These interrogations not being expected, the person to whom they were addressed was not always prepared to answer them correctly. But if, through a desire of displaying more information than he actually possessed, the unfortunate individual answered like one who was well acquainted with the subject, another well-timed and pertinent question, hinted to him that it was better for him to confess ignorance than to speak erroneously, for he was talking to one already acquainted with the subject of conversation. All this was done with so much delicacy, that pleasure instead of pain was excited, and many persons must have resolved forthwith to make themselves well acquainted with objects so readily learned, and which till then, it had never occurred to them, could become such interesting subjects of inquiry and of conversation. This happy tact made Dr. Wistar the charm of every circle. Unbounded in his hospitality, and fascinating in his manners, his house was the resort of literary men of every description, both citizens and strangers; his company was courted equally by the young and the old, the gay and the sedate. Upon his habit of a Saturday evening entertainment, has been founded the well known associations of Philadelphia, called the Wistar parties whose hebdomadal hospitality contributes so much to the charm of its society, and to the gratification of respectable strangers. It was very justly said of him, "if he addressed a promiscuous circle, he spoke like a man of the world, carefully avoiding every thing professional, technical, or in any way insulated; if an individual, he so suited his remarks to his taste

and capacities, as to entice him into discourse, and draw from him his knowledge of the subject discussed."*

So deeply had his philanthropy affected his general deportment, that persons but just acquainted with him, were as fully persuaded of his disposition as those who had known him for years. In the sick room he was the ministering angel, compassionate, unwearied, prompt, and deeply skilled; in bad cases never abandoning his patients, or ceasing to apply the resources of the art till life was extinct. In those terrible and unexpected accidents which sometimes come with overwhelming suddenness upon the practitioner of surgery, when even the stoutest and most collected hearts are paralyzed, Dr. WISTAR, though on common occasions the most sensitive of mankind, found here all his faculties at their post. Whatever ingenuity could devise, and skill combine, was rapidly executed. He was not one who, in witnessing the immensity of a calamity, forgot the means by which it could be repaired. He practised on the most disinterested principles, being possessed of a good fortune with a lucrative professorship, his charges were proverbially moderate. In this, however, he probably did a disservice to the profession. Inconsiderable charges from a man of his reputation and extent of business, in forming a sort of rule in the profession, of course affected deeply such as were only beginning, and such as had not the other resources which he wielded. Indeed, society itself is scarcely benefited by such a proceeding, for it is generally admitted, that the most able members of the profession, have, for the most part, received the first impulse from the stimulus of necessity, encouraged with the hope of reward; but if the value of the latter be diminished much, it turns the minds of enterprising men from the pursuit, and renders those who are already in it, lukewarm; under which circumstances medicine loses much of its skill and respectability. No man, however, entertained higher notions of the value of professional services than Dr. WISTAR, and it was this very lofty conception of them which prevented him from estimating their worth in pounds, shillings, and pence.

Scrupulous and conscientious to an extreme in doing every thing for a patient which he thought could be of service, his efforts went much beyond those of a simple medical attendant. He felt the deepest personal interest for his patient, and not unfrequently after-

* Eulogium on CASPAR WISTAR, by Charles Caldwell, M. D.

wards his mind was filled with the strongest sentiments of friendship, founded principally on the benefits which it had been his happiness to extend. In difficult chronic cases he made numerous and protracted visits, and entered into the most minute and comprehensive investigation of them. It was on such occasions that the solace and sympathy of friendship were superadded to the balm of the healing art, and that impressions of devoted affection to him are to be found among numbers of individuals yet alive in Philadelphia, who upon any one touching this string even gently, find it vibrate to the inmost recesses of their hearts, and in the crowd of recollections which the association excites, incapable of utterance, give vent to them in a flood of tears. To call this man good, is only to show the insufficiency of human language.

In a point of vast importance to the harmony of society and to the efficacy of Christian convictions, he was a perfect model. The rule "Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us," was most indelibly and practically imprinted on his mind. Endowed by nature with a sensibility to be compared only with that of a delicate, youthful, and highly refined female, it is not to be expected but that in his profession he received some rude shocks, enough so indeed to stagger a mind more coarsely organized than his own. Incapable of injustice and of rancor himself, when the first burst of indignation was over, which he owed to human nature, then came the sunshine of a calm and undisturbed conscience. Judging other men by himself, he trusted that there was some mistake, that it had not been intended, that the person had been betrayed into extremities by a vehement and uncontrollable disposition. If, however, a perseverance in injury proved that it was a deliberate and unrepented act of malice, no harsh retort came from his lips; they were closed forever upon the personal demerits of the individual, while he did ample justice to the merits, professional, or otherwise, which the person may have possessed. From this Christian charity, even many of his most intimate friends declare that they never heard him depart, nor utter an unkind word against such as had flagrantly injured him.

Dr. Wistar commenced the discharge of his duties as adjunct professor of anatomy in the little building in Fifth street, opposite the State-House yard, afterwards used as the Health Office. The increasing celebrity of the school, producing a corresponding concourse of students, that house was insufficient to contain them. Accordingly, about the year 1807, a building was erected on Ninth

street below Market. In the winter of 1808, the class met in it. Dr. Shippen, whose domestic misfortunes and bodily infirmities had borne heavily upon him for some years, had retired from the active duties of the chair. But on this occasion he delivered the introductory lecture, which was rendered more than usually interesting to him by his recollections of almost half a century, when but twelve students had assembled to follow his course, in an obscure room in the city. Now he had spacious and comparatively elegant accommodations, and an immense concourse of students from all parts of the union. In a few weeks after this effort of strength, in which he described in glowing terms his emotions, he was gathered to his fathers. This circumstance left Dr. Wistar sole professor of anatomy.

The talents which had borne him up to this period of life, were now applied with renewed vigor. Determined ón discharging his duties to the best of his power, no pains, no expense, were spared. Well experienced in the best mode of instruction, in what was most useful to be learned, he sustained in the maturity of his reputation, the high opinion that had been formed of him. As a teacher of anatomy, differing in many respects from his illustrious predecessor, his elocution was equally popular. His style of speaking was of that earnest and fluent kind, which, abounding in important truths, commanded the attention without restricting itself to the formal rules of oratory. It was not so much the speaker that spoke as the subject which he was discussing; the absorbing interest was in the latter.

From the uncertainty of continuing the course of anatomy in the early years of the school, no arrangements had been made for an anatomical museum. Dr. Wistar soon became sensible of this deficiency, and to the day of his death continued to supply it. Many years before, he had made a very fine and numerous collection of dried preparations of the arterial and venous systems. A considerable number of corroded preparations in wax were executed about the same period. About the year 1812, a friend of his travelling in Italy, enabled him to add to his cabinet, from the school of Mascagni, several very superior preparations of the lymphatics; their arrival gave an impulse to the cultivation of that branch of practical anatomy among the students of the school, and from it has resulted a number of very creditable preparations. The most signal effort, however, of Dr. Wistar in this line, was having a number of very large

models in wood executed by Rush, with the view of giving every member of his class an equal opportunity of learning.

The last year of Dr. WISTAR's mortal career was marked by an unusual concourse of students, and by a series of lectures, in which he even exceeded his former reputation. In his fifty-eighth year, animated by a new and improved lecture-room, but in an impaired state of health, his excessive fondness for the duties of the chair still stimulated him to advance in the noble career. In this zenith of popularity, and of public confidence, in January, 1818, he was assailed with the malady destined by Providence to close his labors. So long as reason maintained her seat, his exclamation was, "Well, to-morrow I shall certainly be able to meet my class;" and even when dark delirium threw her mantle over his faculties, his incoherent ravings were addressed to the same subject; and it was only by coercion that he was prevented one day, long after the usual hour of his lecture had expired, from repairing to the University.

Thus died one of the most distinguished members of the medical profession, and one of the brightest ornaments of civil and literary life of our country; who, in addition to the honorable manner in which he had discharged the arduous duties of his own profession, had also presided with high acceptance and dignity over the American Philosophical Society. That his loss was deeply felt was proved by eulogiums pronounced by such men as Chief Justice Tilghman, Professor Hosack, and Dr. Charles Caldwell. A pleasing memorial of him is still preserved in the name of the WISTAR parties already alluded to, and another in the vignette of his likeness on the cards of invitation issued by the association.

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DeWitt Clinton

DE WITT CLINTON.

The life of De Witt Clinton is contained in the political history of his state and nation. Like all public men, he had violent enemies and attached friends; and though the voice of censure has been hushed in the burst of lamentation that followed his hearse, it must be supposed that there are some, who are unwilling to grant all that is asked by partiality for his private character and public conduct. The consciousness of this diversity renders the performance of the present sketch a delicate task. We shall endeavor so to execute it, as to render it an acceptable offering, not to party, but to truth.

Mr. Clinton's family was of English origin. His paternal ancestor became an officer on the royal side during the civil wars, and, at their termination, left his native soil as an exile. Having spent some years on the continent, he finally settled in Ireland.

One of his descendants, the grandfather of De Witt Clinton, emigrated to this country in 1729. He arrived at Cape Cod, and remained in its vicinity until 1731; when, with his wife and children, he removed to that part of Ulster county, in the state of New York, which is now called Orange county.

Two of the children of this gentleman rose to eminence during the war of the revolution. George Clinton had the honor of being selected by his fellow citizens as the first governor of the state of New York. Popular, energetic, and practical, he proved eminently qualified for his arduous station, nor were his services forgotten in after times. He was repeatedly reëlected to that office, and finally died vice president of the United States.

The other son was James Clinton. He early acquired a fondness for military life, and served in the memorable French war of 1756. At the breaking out of the revolution, he received a colonel's commission in the continental service, and left it at the conclusion of the war, as a major-general.

De Witt Clinton was the third son of General James Clinton and Mary De Witt. He was born on the 2d of March, 1769, at the

family residence, in Little Britain, Orange county. His early education was conducted at the grammar school of his native town, by the Reverend John Moffat; and he was prepared for college at the academy in Kingston, then under the care of Mr. John Addison. We believe that this gentleman was subsequently a colleague of Mr. Clinton, in the senate of the state of New York.

In 1784, at the conclusion of the war, Mr. Clinton entered the junior class in Columbia college, and continued there until his graduation, in 1786. On this occasion he delivered the Latin salutatory oration, "the exercise always assigned to the best scholar;" and, accordingly, in the printed list of the alumni of the college, his name stands as the first in his class.

The advantages attending a full course of instruction in this venerable institution had undoubtedly their full influence in the formation of Mr. Clinton's character. It is not to be denied that thorough classical instruction, for which Columbia college has always been highly distinguished, strengthens and prepares the mind for all the active professional and political duties of a citizen. This opinion may be sneered at, or it may be attempted to confute it by referring to the examples of Washington and Franklin; but the sciolists who offer such an argument forget that all are not Washingtons and Franklins; that great occasions develop talent of every description;* and that the real question is, what system is best calculated to improve the intellect of the leading portion of the community, under all its variety of talent. If properly conducted—if it be made the vehicle of ideas instead of words—if it be studied with a commentary on the history of ancient republics, and a reference to the character of our own institutions, classical learning must prepare the ingenuous youth to understand his duties and to "act well his part."

The subject of our memoir selected the law as his profession, and commenced its study under the late celebrated counsellor, Samuel Jones. He was admitted to the bar in 1789; but had scarcely commenced practice in the city of New York, before he was appointed private secretary to his uncle, Governor Clinton. He thus early entered on that political career which ended only with his death. It is understood, that during the period of his appointment, which ended, in 1795, with the resignation of the governor, he was much engaged in political discussions; and he undoubtedly thus acquired

* "When there is nothing great to be done, (says Cousin,) a great man is impossible."

much of that facility and vigor in composition which always distinguished his writings. We are not aware of any acknowledged production during the above time, except a correspondence, in his official capacity, with several members of congress from the state of New York, relative to the mode of declaring vacancies in the national house of representatives.

Conjointly with the above office, he held that of secretary to the regents of the university, and to the board of fortifications of New York.

In 1797 he was chosen to the house of assembly from the city of New York, and in 1798 to the senate of the state. While in the latter office, and being a member of the council of appointment, a controversy arose between that body and the governor, (John Jay,) relative to the right of nomination to office. It was claimed by Mr. Jay as his exclusive prerogative—while Mr. Clinton and his associates asserted their co-ordinate powers. A convention of delegates was called to interpret the language of the constitution on this point, and it decided unfavorably to the opinions of Mr. Jay. Experience, however, has justified the policy of his doctrine, if not its positive conformity to the letter of the constitution. The convention which a few years since remodelled that instrument, struck from its pages every vestige of the council of appointment, and gave to the gover nor the sole power of nomination, and to the senate that of approval and disapproval.

In 1802 Mr. Clinton was elected, by the legislature of the state, a senator in congress, in the room of General Armstrong, who had resigned. He continued in that office during two sessions, when he retired, upon being appointed mayor of the city of New York.

In congress he was a supporter of the administration of Mr. Jefferson. The most exciting question that arose during his senatorship, was the proposition of Mr. Ross, of Pennsylvania, to seize New Orleans, then a Spanish possession, with a military force. Spain had given the right by treaty to the citizens of the United States to deposit their goods and produce at that place. She now interdicted it. In the debate that ensued, Mr. Clinton urged the propriety of previous negotiation, and the importance of delaying so decisive a measure, which indeed was equivalent to a declaration of war.

His speech on this subject was reported; and it may be considered a favorable specimen of the style and logic that characterized his public addresses. All farther discussion was happily concluded, by the subsequent purchase of Louisiana.

He continued in the mayoralty of the city of New York, with the exception of two years, from 1803 to 1815. It was in this situation, undoubtedly, that he developed his matured powers, and appeared before the country in the light of an eminent and enlightened citizen. In his capacity of presiding law officer in the courts of that city, his decisions were highly approved. As the first magistrate, he displayed the energy and decision of character which so strikingly distinguished his after history; while on every proper occasion he appeared as the patron of benevolent and literary enterprise. We shall, however, refer to this last subject hereafter in greater detail, and prefer at present to continue our narrative of his political life.

In conjunction with the mayoralty, he continued, during several terms, to hold a seat in the senate of New York. Although active as a politician, he forgot not his duties as a lawgiver, and originated or supported many measures of public utility. During the sessions of 1809, 1810, and 1811, in the language of one of his biographers, "he introduced laws to prevent kidnapping, or the farther introduction of slaves, and to punish those who should treat them inhumanly —for the support of the quarantine establishment—for the encouragement of missionary societies—for the improvement of the public police—for the prevention and punishment of crime—for perfecting the militia system—for promoting medical science—and for endowing seminaries of education."

In 1811 he was elected lieutenant-governor of the state. It was while holding this office, that he was nominated to the station of president of the United States, in opposition to Mr. Madison. It is sufficient in this place to state, that he was preferred by many because he was a northern candidate; by others, because the war which had now commenced had been fruitful in disasters; and from the character of Mr. Clinton it was hoped, that he would either conduct it vigorously or speedily terminate it. The crisis was an alarming one to our country and its institutions; and the men of the present day can hardly fully appreciate the conduct of parties at that period, when they read its history, embellished as it finally was, by land and naval triumphs. Mr. Clinton divided the nation with Mr. Madison. On the canvass, the latter had one hundred and twenty-eight votes, and the former eighty-nine. He was, of course, unsuccessful, and this event exercised for many years a baneful influence on his public and private fortunes.

His native state did not, however, forget him. In 1817 he was

chosen governor almost without a contest—was reëlected in 1820, in opposition to Governor Tompkins, then vice-president of the United States—retired at the adoption of the new constitution, but was again elected in 1824, and continued to fill the office until his death.

It is an idle fancy now to conjecture to what height he might have risen, had he lived to the present period. But the opinion may be hazarded, that he was the candidate of a plurality of the people of the United States (could the sentiments of that plurality have been concentrated) at the election which elevated Mr. Adams to the presidency. That eminent individual offered him the embassy to London, but he declined the honor; preferring, on many accounts, to continue in the situation to which he had been recently reëlected.

With many of our statesmen, a narrative like that which we have now given may frequently conclude the incidents of their lives. It forms, however, only the frame work of the moral achievements of Mr. Clinton. It was remarked with great justice by Mr. Butler, afterwards attorney general of the United States, immediately after his death, "that whilst he pursued with avidity political distinction, he had the wisdom to seek enduring fame, not from the possession of power, or the triumphs of the day, but by identifying himself with the great interests of the community. It was his ambition to be distinguished as the friend of learning and morals, and as the advocate and patron of every measure calculated to promote the welfare or increase the glory of the state."

In connection with various associates, he was among the founders of several literary and scientific institutions in the city of New York. The American Academy of Fine Arts, the New York Historical Society, and the Literary and Philosophical Society, each numbered him among their earliest members; and, at different periods, he held the office of president in all of them. For the Historical Society, he assisted materially in obtaining a liberal donation from the state, and the Literary and Philosophical commenced its labors with an elaborate inaugural discourse from his pen. In the transactions of both, valuable communications were made by him on subjects of civil and natural history.

To the New York Hospital, the Lunatic Asylum connected with it, and the various other charitable institutions of the state and city, he proved an efficient friend; urging their claims on the public consideration and bounty.

Under his auspices, a board of agriculture was incorporated. Like its prototype in England, it served its day amidst reproach and

jealousy; yet its effects have been salutary, and not the less so from being slowly acknowledged.

The high rank which Mr. CLINTON held in the masonic fraternity deserves some notice, since he considered that institution worthy of his attention for more than twenty years.

He held the office of Grand Master of masons in the state of New York from 1806 to 1820, when his public engagements not permitting his personal attendance, he resigned. In September, 1825, he installed, in Albany, the Hon. Stephen Van Rensselaer as Grand Master; on which occasion he delivered an address on the history, objects, and tendencies of the society, from which we give the following extract, as a sufficient explanation of his unfaltering attachment to the fraternity, through good and evil report. "Although the origin of our fraternity is covered with darkness, and its history is to a great extent obscure, yet we can confidently say that it is the most ancient society in the world: and we are equally certain that its principles are based on pure morality; that its ethics are the ethics of Christianity; its doctrines the doctrines of patriotism and brotherly love; and its sentiments the sentiments of exalted benevolence. Upon these points there can be no doubt."

He was General Grand Master of the General Grand Encampment of the United States, from 1816 until his death: he also presided in the Grand Encampment of New York, and some other branches of the institution, for many years.

As the patron and assiduous promoter of education, and particularly the education of the poor, the name of Mr. CLINTON deserves especial mention. He was sagacious enough to perceive that our institutions are frail, unless strengthened by the intelligence and morality of the people. He hailed the Lancasterian system as a mighty engine in diffusing knowledge, and was successful in procuring its introduction into this country. The whole plan of public instruction, extending from infant schools up to our colleges and university, frequently became the subject of animated notice in his messages; nor was he content without reiterating its value, or suggesting improvements in its various parts.

His most brilliant public service remains to be mentioned. As a political leader, he allied himself to the friends of the canal policy, became its champion, and succeeded in completing the magnificent undertaking. We have been thus specific in stating what we conceive to have been his special and peculiar honor, in order to avoid all cavil. He never claimed to have originated the idea. The

ghosts of Brindley and the Duke of Bridgewater would have confronted him; but because he did not, is it to be tolerated that an idle traveller, passing along the results of their labors, should usurp it? They were indeed viewed by the eye of genius, and we accordingly find the name of Gouverneur Morris indissolubly connected with that of Mr. CLINTON, in the active inception of the project. As early as 1812, they were deputed as commissioners to ask the aid of Congress. They found little sympathy and less support. They returned from their bootless errand, and in their report, used this thrilling language:—"These men console themselves with the hope, that the envied state of New York will continue a supplicant for the favor and a dependant on the generosity of the union, instead of making a dignified and manly appeal to her own power. It remains to be proved, whether they judge justly who judge so meanly of our councils."

Union did not, however, exist in these councils. Opposition was always at hand—magnifying the expense, denying the utility, or doubting the practicability of the undertaking. For several years the contest was uncertain; but at last the effort succeeded, and all difficulties vanished. It is of this period that the editor of the American (Mr. Charles King) speaks in his beautiful obituary notice. "In the great work of internal improvement he persevered through good report and through evil report, with a steadiness of purpose that no obstacle could divert; and when all the elements were in commotion around him, and even his chosen associates were appalled, HE ALONE, LIKE COLUMBUS, on the wide waste of waters, in his frail bark, with a disheartened and unbelieving crew, remained firm, self-poised, and unshaken." "Is it (he adds) extravagant or unjust to say, that, like Columbus, he was recompensed by opening new worlds to our intercourse—vast regions, which the canals of New York must be the means of subduing, civilizing, enriching?"

The burst of exultation that extended from Lake Erie to the ocean, in the autumn of 1825, when the canals were completed, was to Mr. CLINTON like the triumph to an ancient worthy. It is given to few men to earn so proud a civic wreath. The madness of party, which subsequently removed him from the office of canal commissioner, served only to render his gratuitous services more conspicuous.

During the last years of his life political hostility was greatly allayed. It seemed to be felt, that the people, without regard to party, desired his elevation; and he sought to reward their partiality

by suggesting and promoting whatever might promise to increase their prosperity and happiness. Disease was, however, sapping the foundations of his vigorous constitution. It is highly probable that he labored for some years under an organic affection of the heart or its vessels. Symptoms strikingly characteristic of such a complaint were very manifest during the delivery of his address to the alumni of Columbia college, in May, 1827; and it is understood that he was alarmingly, though but temporarily ill, during the ensuing summer. There is every reason to believe that he was conscious of his situation, and that his mind was in a state becoming such a period. He did not intermit in his public duties, but was, with scarcely an omission, found daily at his chamber in the capitol, during the session of the legislature.

On the day of his death he had attended there as usual, and on his return home had written several letters during the afternoon. At a few minutes after six, on the evening of the 11th of February, 1828, while sitting in his study and conversing with two of his sons, he complained of a stricture across his breast; and almost in a moment thereafter, his head fell forward, and life was extinct.

Such was the fearfully sudden departure of this great man. It was the fortune of the writer of this article to be in Albany at the time; and certainly never was a place in greater agitation, nor a population buried in more profound grief, than when the sad news spread like lightning through its streets. The legislature were not unmindful of their duty to themselves and the deceased. Whatever of funeral pomp the civil and military authorities, the crowd of citizens, and appropriate emblems of mourning could present, was exhibited in the solemn march to the grave.

Throughout the state, and, indeed, the nation, deep and sincere sorrow was expressed. The representatives of the state at Washington assembled to pay their tribute of respect to his memory. Mr. Van Buren, then a senator, afterwards vice president, spoke in a manner befitting his station and character. "All other considerations out of view, (he observed,) the single fact that the greatest public improvement of the age in which we live was commenced under the guidance of his councils, and splendidly accomplished under his immediate auspices, is of itself sufficient to fill the ambition of any man, and to give glory to any name. The triumph of his talents and patriotism cannot fail to become monuments of high and enduring fame. We cannot, indeed, but remember, that in our public career collisions of opinion and action, at once extensive,

earnest, and enduring, have arisen between the deceased and many of us. For myself, it gives me a deep-felt though melancholy satisfaction to know, and more so to be conscious, that the deceased also felt and acknowledged, that our political differences have been wholly free from that most venomous and corroding of all poisons—personal hatred. But, in other respects, it is now immaterial what was the character of those collisions. They have been turned to nothing, and less than nothing, by the event we deplore; and I doubt not that we will, with one voice and one heart, yield to his memory the well-deserved tribute of our respect for his name, and our warmest gratitude for his great and signal services. For myself, so strong, so sincere, and so engrossing is this feeling, that I, who, whilst living, never, no, never, envied him any thing, now that he has fallen, am greatly tempted to envy him his grave with its honors."

We have but a small space left to speak of the character of Mr. Clinton. Many of its leading traits may be inferred from the preceding narrative. He was bold and decisive in conduct, tenacious of his purpose, and stern to those whom he considered as his enemies. He was not unfrequently charged with haughty or reserved manners; but we apprehend that much of this is to be attributed to a distrust in the success of his public performances. He was, in fact, a diffident man throughout his life; and hence the charm of his conversation, and the lights of his intellect, improved by extensive and varied reading, could only be appreciated, and there how delightfully! in the private circle. Occasionally it is to be regretted that he indulged in a disposition for ridicule. What he intended should only be harmless mirth, from his situation, and the malevolence of those who retail the conversation of the great, often turned into venom that rankled and stung him.

If he had these faults, he had greater virtues. No one ever enlisted a more numerous or a more devoted body of personal friends. His frankness commanded their respect, his decision their esteem, and his public and patriotic views their admiration.

We have said that he read much. This indeed was one of the most striking traits of his intellectual character; and to it he owed much of his reputation. He disdained to be superficial. He informed himself on all subjects connected with his duties, and, as far as leisure would permit, studied natural history with all the love of a devotee. That he was occasionally incorrect or misinformed, is what must always be expected, whilst our scientific men have to

make themselves poor in purchasing those libraries which other governments delight in spreading before their subjects.

Mr. CLINTON improved his style by much practice. Its predominant characters are vigor and clearness. He erred occasionally from indulging in diffuseness, and, in some of his productions, a want of connection may be detected. Many, however, it must be recollected, were written in haste, or for temporary purposes. When "the matter matched his mind," as in some of his messages, and in his addresses to our naval heroes on presenting them with the freedom of the city of New York, his manner often rose to eloquence. If there was any figure in which he delighted, it was antithesis; and his success in it frequently gave double force to the severity of his sarcasm.

As a public speaker, he was somewhat deficient in voice and animation; but he was always listened to with profound attention, from the talent displayed in discussing the important subjects to which he devoted himself.

His form was emphatically that of one of "nature's noblemen." Tall, erect, commanding, with a countenance beaming with intellect, no one could meet him without being struck with his appearance, or conceiving that he bore with him the attributes of greatness.

In all the private relations of a father and a husband, Mr. CLINTON was most exemplary, amiable, and indulgent.

Such was the individual "who," to use the eloquent language of President Nott, of Union College, "during a life so short, so changeful, and yet, withal, so fortunate, was able, not only to fix some impress of his mind on most of the institutions under which we live, but also to grave the memorial of his being on the bosom of the earth on which we tread, and in lines, too, so bold and so indelible, that they may, and probably will continue legible, to successive generations."

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DAVID HUMPHREYS, LL.D.

D. Humphreys

DAVID HUMPHREYS, LL.D.

David Humphreys was the son of the Rev. Daniel Humphreys, pastor of a Presbyterian church in the town of Derby, in the state of Connecticut.

He was born in the year 1753. His juvenile history would probably be of little importance, even were it practicable to trace it with accuracy, after the lapse of so many years.

He entered Yale college as a freshman, in the year 1767, and received his diploma as bachelor of arts, in the year 1771. Either owing to the exciting causes, which eventually terminated in the establishment of American independence, or to a singular combination of youthful intellectual powers, the brief time of the presidency of Dr. Daggett seems to present the most brilliant display of eminent names that is furnished by the catalogue of Yale college.

Young Humphreys was among the pupils of that presidency. Trumbull, Dwight, and Humphreys, contemporaries as academicians, and soon after, Barlow, while they maintained honorable rank as scholars, brought the charms of poetry from their studies, to grace the progress of freedom, and strew flowers on the pathway of liberty. Excitements that influenced teachers, who considered even clerical immunities and obligations as forming no just exemption from active personal service in opposition to tyranny and oppression, operated with wonderful effect on the minds of pupils. A love of letters became united with a love of country; scholarship and patriotism formed an alliance, and literature in all its branches lent its aid to the cause of freedom.

The young bards of the college raised their animating strains; and with the caustic satire of Trumbull, the noble songs of Dwight, and the elaborate efforts of Barlow, were mingled the patriotic effusions of Humphreys. Their early efforts presaged much for the future; and now, since they have all passed from the stage of action, it is with pride and pleasure that we can interweave their laurels.

But it was not alone in poetry that their efforts were expended. Trumbull, the friend and favorite law student of the elder President Adams, gave an animating impulse, as a political writer, in furtherance of the cause of liberty; Barlow and Dwight became chaplains in the army; while the more ambitious energy of HUMPHREYS, led him to the field as a soldier.

After the completion of his collegiate studies, HUMPHREYS resided (it is presumed in the character of an instructer) in the family of Colonel Phillips, of Phillips' manor, in Westchester county, New York. How long he remained in the family of Colonel Phillips, is not known to the writer: but from a sonnet "addressed to his friends at Yale college, on leaving them to join the army," it is supposed, that he returned again to classic ground, and, having there sought a place, in which his talents could be useful to his country, embarked as an early soldier in the cause of the revolution. The first stanza of the sonnet expresses his feelings:

> "Adieu, thou Yale! where youthful poets dwell;
> No more I linger by thy classic stream.
> Inglorious ease and sportive songs, farewell!
> Thou startling clarion! break the sleeper's dream!

Mr. HUMPHREYS entered the army as a captain. His literary talents and patriotic sentiments commended him to the early notice of the most efficient and discerning officers; and in 1778, with the lineal rank of captain, he held the additional appointment of aid to Major General Putnam. In October, 1777, it appears from a note inserted in his "Life of General Putnam," that he was "major of brigade to the first Connecticut brigade." The period to which the note refers, was the time of the capture of Fort Montgomery, by Sir Henry Clinton; and the brigade to which HUMPHREYS was attached, was commanded by Brigadier General Theophilus Parsons. The acquaintance formed at that time, probably led to his more intimate association with Major General Putnam, who was then acting under the appointment of Washington, as commander "of a separate army in the Highlands of New York."

The peculiar circumstances, under which the revolutionary army was organized, rendered the services of well educated and patriotic young men peculiarly acceptable to sagacious commanders. The confidential situation of aid became important, both in field and cabinet service, and the ablest and best informed young men were selected for that station. It was in this field of duty, combining as

well the cultivated talents of a scholar as the ardor of a devoted soldier of liberty, that HUMPHREYS was destined to serve his country.

Without tracing his biography with the minuteness befitting the historian of a national chief, it may, perhaps, be sufficient to note the outline of his services as a soldier, by a quotation from his poem, "On the Happiness of America," addressed "to the American people," soon after the close of the revolutionary war. In alluding to the interest that another generation might feel in the incidents that resulted in the birth of a new empire, he thus alludes to his personal agency:

"I, too, perhaps, should Heaven prolong my date,
The oft-repeated tale shall oft relate;
Shall tell the feelings in the first alarms,
Of some bold enterprise the unequalled charms;
Shall tell from whom I learnt the martial art,
With what high chief I play'd my early part:
With Parsons first, whose eye, with piercing ken,
Reads through their hearts the characters of men;
Then how I aided, in the following scene,
Death-daring Putnam, then immortal Greene;
Then how great Washington my youth approv'd,
In rank preferred, and as a parent lov'd,
(For each fine feeling in his bosom blends
The first of heroes, sages, patriots, friends,)
With him what hours on war-like plans I spent,
Beneath the shadow of th' imperial tent;
With him how oft I went the nightly round,
Through moving hosts, or slept on tented ground;
From him, how oft, (nor far below the first
In high behests and confidential trust,)
From him how oft I bore the dread commands,
Which destined for the fight the eager bands:
With him how oft I passed th' eventful day,
Rode by his side, as down the long array
His awful voice the columns taught to form,
To point the thunder, and to pour the storm.
But, thanks to heaven! those days of blood are o'er," &c.

From allusions in the preceding extract, it appears that HUMPHREYS had the singular good fortune to be allied, on terms of family intimacy, with several of the most discriminating, intelligent, and efficient chiefs of the revolution. To have been selected in perilous times, from a host of aspiring young men, as the confidential friend of Parsons, Putnam, Greene, and Washington; and to have accompanied them successively, as a staff officer, through the vicissitudes and dangers of their campaigns, is proof sufficient of his capacity and

bravery as a soldier. Indeed we cannot but readily pardon the vanity of the youthful poet, in recording with pride the noble testimonials that had been thus awarded to his talents and patriotism by such illustrious men.

He received his appointment as aid and military secretary to General Washington, in 1780, and, after visiting his old friend, General Putnam, who was suffering under the effects of a paralytic attack, at Pomfret, Connecticut, joined the family of the commander-in-chief, in the early part of that year. From that time, he constantly resided with Washington, enjoying his full confidence and friendship, and sharing in the toils of his arduous duties, until the close of the war.

On the surrender of Cornwallis, the captured standards were delivered to his charge. In the honors conferred by a grateful country on the actors in that brilliant campaign, Colonel Humphreys was not forgotten. In November, 1781, congress "Resolved, that an elegant sword be presented in the name of the United States, in congress assembled, to Colonel Humphreys, aid-de-camp of General Washington, to whose care the standards taken under the capitulation of York were consigned, as a testimony of their opinion of his fidelity and ability; and that the board of war take order thereon." In the year 1786, this resolution was carried into effect, and the sword presented by General Knox, secretary of war, accompanied by a highly complimentary letter.

In November, 1782, he was, by resolution of congress, commissioned as lieutenant-colonel, with order that his commission should bear date from the 23d of June, 1780, when he received his appointment as aid-de-camp to the commander-in-chief. He had, when in active service, given the sanction of his name and influence in the establishment of a company of *colored infantry*, attached to Meigs', afterwards Butler's regiment, in the Connecticut line. He continued to be the nominal captain of that company, until the establishment of peace.

The preliminaries of peace between the United States and Great Britain, having been agreed on, in November, 1782, the operations of the army were soon after suspended; although the commander-in-chief continued with the northern division until December, 1783, when he resigned his commission. He was attended at Annapolis, on that interesting occasion, by Colonel Humphreys, who thence, accompanied him to Mount Vernon.

In May, 1784, Colonel Humphreys was elected by congress, secretary to the commission for negotiating treaties of commerce with

foreign powers. The commissioners were John Adams, then minister in Holland; Benjamin Franklin, then minister in France; and Thomas Jefferson, who received his appointment as commissioner three days previous to the election of Colonel HUMPHREYS as secretary.

In July of the same year, he accompanied Mr. Jefferson to Europe. Several eminent men, and among them his friend, General Kosciusko, were the companions of his voyage. The commission was limited in duration to two years; at the expiration of which time, Colonel HUMPHREYS, having spent a part of the winter of 1785 in England, returned to America, and immediately visited General Washington, at Mount Vernon. In the year 1786, symptoms of discontent, arising from the arrangements of the government, manifested themselves in regular military preparations for redress or resistance. The period alluded to, is commonly known as "the time of Shay's rebellion." With a view, probably, to aid in suppressing those dangerous movements, Colonel HUMPHREYS returned to his native place, and was, in the autumn of 1786, elected a member of assembly from Derby, in the Connecticut legislature. He was by that legislature appointed to the command of a regiment, raised in compliance "with a requisition of congress, on account of an Indian war;" the real object of the requisition being disguised from motives of policy.

On receiving his commission, Colonel HUMPHREYS fixed upon Hartford, as his head quarters and recruiting rendezvous. He there had an opportunity of renewing his intimacy with his early literary associates, Trumbull and Barlow, and, in connection with them and Dr. Lemuel Hopkins, an accomplished poet and satirist, was engaged in writing the *Anarchiad*. It consisted of a series of poetical essays, characterized by the brilliancy, sentiment, and wit, which such a union of talents could not fail to give.

The time of Colonel HUMPHREYS' active employment in his new department of military duty, was of short duration. He continued, however, in command, until the suppression of the insurrection in 1787.

In the year 1788, he again went by invitation to Mount Vernon, and while there wrote his "Life of General Putnam," and several poetical pieces. From the dates of the prologue and epilogue to the tragedy, entitled "The Widow of Malabar," translated by him from the French, it is presumed, that these compositions engaged his leisure hours at that time.

In the year 1789, he was appointed by congress as one of a board of commissioners, to treat with the southern Indians. His associates

were Cyrus Griffin, afterwards judge of the United States' court for the district of Virginia, and General Benjamin Lincoln. The commission was closed in the same year.

In the year 1790, Colonel HUMPHREYS was appointed minister to the court of Portugal, and was resident there, as a diplomatic representative of his country, until the year 1797, when he took leave of that court, having been transferred to the court of Madrid, where he continued until the year 1802.

At that time, Thomas Pinckney, minister to England, was transferred to the court of Spain, and Colonel HUMPHREYS took leave, and returned to the United States.

During his residence in Portugal, he was authorized by special powers to open negotiations with several of the Barbary states, with a view, as well to obtain the liberation of many American citizens, held in captivity, as to secure our commerce by treaties from further spoliations; the act authorizing him to appoint agents. In furtherance of his duties, Colonel HUMPHREYS, who had made a short visit to the United States in the early part of the year 1795, in order to render full personal representations on the subject of Barbary aggressions, returned to Europe in April, 1795, accompanied by Joseph Donaldson, consul for Tunis and Tripoli; who was to be employed to negotiate the treaty, while Colonel HUMPHREYS himself went to France, to obtain the aid of the French government.

In aid of Mr. Donaldson, Joel Barlow, then residing in France, was appointed to act in the negotiation. Through the agency of Mr. Barlow and Mr. Donaldson, treaties were subsequently formed with Algiers and Tripoli, and "approved and concluded" by Colonel HUMPHREYS.

Several of the most important of Colonel HUMPHREYS' diplomatic communications, were some years since, presented to the public. They are considered by enlightened statesmen as being creditable to him, both as a national jurist and a correct and lucid negotiator.

During his residence in Europe, Colonel HUMPHREYS corresponded with his friend Dwight, in poetical epistles, and wrote several of his best compositions in verse. On taking leave of the court of Lisbon, he addressed a sonnet "To the Prince of Brazil," which was "translated into Portuguese verse," by "the Marshal General and Commander-in-chief, Duke de Alafoens." His correspondence with General Washington was of the most friendly and confiding character, and Washington expressed a strong desire, that he would, after his return from Europe, make Mount Vernon his permanent residence as the

companion of his declining years. During his residence abroad, Colonel Humphreys married, in the year 1797, in Lisbon, a daughter of John Bulkley, an English resident merchant, of great wealth.

While minister at the court of Spain, he received the afflicting intelligence of the death of his venerated chief and friend. He wrote on that occasion a letter of condolence to Mrs. Washington, remarkably beautiful in expression and delicacy of feeling, and subsequently, on the 4th July, 1800, pronounced a poetic eulogium on the character of General Washington, at the house of the American legation in Madrid; which was forwarded to Mrs. Washington, with a dedicatory letter.

Previous to his departure from Spain, he purchased a flock of one hundred sheep, of the best selected *merino breed*, and forwarded them to the United States, from Lisbon. It was a very important and valuable accession to the agricultural and manufacturing interests of his country; and the allusion to the golden fleece of Jason, inscribed on his monument, is not less correct than beautiful. Colonel Humphreys also contributed to agricultural interests, by the introduction of Arabian horses, and good varieties of English cattle. His important services were justly appreciated by enlightened citizens, and in December, 1802, "the Trustees of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture," transmitted to him a gold medal, with appropriate devices, and a complimentary inscription.

From the year 1802, until 1812, Colonel Humphreys devoted his time, almost exclusively, to agricultural and manufacturing pursuits. He erected, in that part of his native town, Derby, now known as the incorporated village of *Humphreysville*, (a name conferred in compliment to its founder) one of the earliest, and then the most extensive wool, cotton, and paper manufactories in the country. It is, we believe, still in active and successful operation.

He did not resume his station as an actor in public life, until the year 1812. Among the revolutionary men who were then called from their retirement to mingle again in the strife of nations, Colonel Humphreys was found ready to obey the summons; and to render his aid in sustaining his country, during the perilous trials of a second war with England. In the years 1812, '13 and '14, he was a representative in the legislature, from the town of Derby, and bore an active part in organizing the state troops for the purposes of local defence.

In the year 1812, he took command of a corps of state troops, composed of "volunteers exempt by law from military duty." The corps was raised under an act passed in the August session of 1812, and

Colonel Humphreys was then commissioned as the special commander, with the rank of brigadier-general.

His public services terminated with the limitation of that appointment.

General Humphreys was, in personal form, of lofty stature and commanding appearance; and, whatever peculiarities may have blended with his manners and address, impressed those who viewed him even as strangers, with the conviction, that he possessed high intellectual as well as physical powers. His early reputation as a scholar; his indulgence in poetic enthusiasm, fostered by youthful associates of kindred feelings; the countenance and support of the ablest officers of the revolution; his free admission to counsels, on whose result an empire's fate depended; and finally his long residence at European courts, were well adapted to affect the mind of a young man with sentiments of self-esteem, that gave to his manners the appearance, perhaps, of vanity and ostentation. He was fond of dress and equipage; and, although his sentiments and public conduct were such as to prove his devoted attachment to republicanism, yet, like John Hancock, he was not insensible to the brilliancy of courtly style. His fondness for display (since it must be acknowledged as a trait in his character) is redeemed by the consideration, that he made, on all occasions, his personal gratifications secondary and obedient to public duty.

During his early career in the army, this characteristic was manifest, and observed even by foreign officers. In an unpublished manuscript letter from General Kosciusko to his friend Pierce, paymaster-general of the northern department, now before the writer, dated 30th July, 1778, in commending his regard to the board of officers, he incidentally notes the qualities of his friend Humphreys, by requesting his correspondent to consult him as a person peculiarly familiar with the rules of military etiquette, if he were at loss as to the mode of complying with his wishes.

Anecdotes have been mentioned, alluding to the same peculiarity during his residence with Washington.

As a *prose writer* he was correct and animated in style, and exhibited less of display than would have been expected from his sanguine temperament. Generally, his writings of that description are graceful, unaffected, and free from redundancy of ornament.

As a *poet*, considering the peculiar circumstances under which he wrote, he is entitled to a respectable rank among the bards of the country. Some of his lighter effusions are marked by a playfulness

and vivacity that evince his sensibility to the most sportive and gay attractions of fancy.

After his return from Europe, his occasional literary productions were collected and published in an octavo volume, in 1804. As this work was arranged under his personal direction, it may be presumed to embrace all selections from his compositions before that date, that he wished to note as connected with his character as an author. It is dedicated by him to the Duke de Rochefaucault, who had been his personal and particular friend in France.

Colonel Humphreys, in the first and concluding paragraphs of his dedication, conveys sentiments of independence and patriotic virtue to his titled friend, that the history of his life warrants us in believing to have been as heart-felt as they are correct. They are as follows. In the commencement he says:

"It is consistent with the frankness of a free-born American to say, that your noble blood and immense possessions would be of little consideration with the republicans, whose constitutions of government you have made familiar to your own nation, by translating them into French, if unsupported by your personal merit and amiable accomplishments."

In the conclusion of the dedication, Colonel Humphreys makes this remark: "In presenting for your amusement the trifles which have been occasionally composed at my leisure hours, I assume nothing beyond the negative merit of not having ever written any thing unfavorable to the interests of freedom, humanity, and virtue."

A perusal of his writings, certainly will induce a ready assent to the truth of this observation; and it may be added, that it is more than "negative merit," that ever poetical writings, which are so liable to be tinged by a licentious freedom of expression and thought, should have been composed by a soldier and diplomatist, in his hours of relaxation, without being affected by the contaminating influence of camps and courts.

The principal poetical writings of General Humphreys, embraced in his collection, consist of "An Address to the Armies of the United States," and poems "On the Happiness of America," "On the Future Glory of the United States," "On the Industry of the United States," "On the Love of Country," and "On the Death of General Washington." Besides these patriotic and more elaborate productions, he has preserved many lighter effusions, both of a grave and humorous character, several of which are felicitous as well in expression as in thought.

His prose writings, aside from diplomatic and other official papers, relate almost entirely to such subjects as are connected with patriotism and political economy.

Among these productions, the life of General Putnam, the lion-hearted chief, is the most elaborate. It is a beautiful tribute of a young soldier to his teacher in the art of war; and will always maintain an interesting rank among the literary records of the fathers of the republic. It was dedicated, through their president, Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth, to the state society of the Cincinnati in Connecticut, to be preserved in their archives; and is mentioned by the author, as "the first effort in biography that had been made on this continent."

To this essay may be added two orations before the Cincinnati society; "A Memorial to the Legislature," for its incorporation; "Remarks on the War with Tripoli;" "Thoughts on the Necessity of Maintaining a Navy;" "Means of Improving Public Defence," in a letter to Governor Trumbull; "A Dissertation on Merino Sheep," besides numerous minor productions. Many of Colonel HUMPHREYS' writings, in poetry and prose, have passed through numerous editions in Europe and America, and have been favorably noticed by critics in both hemispheres. His friend, the accomplished Marquis de Chastelleux, translated into French without the knowledge of the author, his poetical "Address to the Armies of the United States," and accompanied the publication in Paris with an elegant introductory notice, highly complimentary to his talents and character. It need not be added, that his American friends, Barlow, Dwight, and Trumbull, were ready in offering their testimonials of affection and respect.

He received while in active life the honorary degree of doctor of laws from three American colleges, and was associated, as member or fellow, with numerous literary institutions, both in Europe and America.

The last years of his life were principally spent in New Haven and Boston, and his attention during that time was directed more to personal concerns than public engagements.

He died of an organic affection of the heart at New Haven, on the 21st February, 1818, aged sixty-five years. His remains were interred in the burial-ground of that city, over which has since been erected a plain but lofty and durable granite monument. The epitaph which briefly, and with no exaggerated praise, relates his history, was written by his early and faithful friend, the Hon. John Trumbull.

DAVID HOSACK, LL.D., M.D., F.R.S.

It has been well said, that "the only advantage which the world can gain from the publication of the lives of individuals, is the knowledge of the circumstances which tend to the formation of character, or of those which influence the happiness of life." Hence an objection has been made against the memoirs of *living* men, written by their own friends, that truth is apt to be buried in panegyric. And it must be admitted there is no small danger of falling into an error of this kind. But the objection cannot apply so forcibly, when we speak only of the *dead*, and calmly review their character, when they can no longer render us service. And all idea of flattery must be dismissed when, as in the case of The National Gallery, the principal object is to collect and narrate plain facts; leaving it almost entirely to the reader to draw his own inferences as to the character of the tree from the fruit it bears. In the present instance we have to speak of a gentleman, not merely known by his talents and his science, but who was for nearly forty years the confidential adviser of a large circle—the family physician of many households. The incidents in the life of such a man can neither be few nor uninteresting.

David Hosack was born in the city of New York, on the 31st of August, 1769. His father, Alexander Hosack, whom he never mentioned but with reverence and affection, was a native of Scotland, born at Elgin, in Murrayshire, on the 29th of August, 1736. His mother, Jane, the daughter of Thomas Arden, of the city of New York, was born on the 2d of March, 1743. Her paternal ancestors were from England, but on the maternal side, were among those who fled from France during the persecutions which succeeded the revocation of the edict of Nantes.

Their first child, the subject of this memoir, after receiving the rudiments of education in his native city, was sent to the grammar school of the late Dr. Alexander M'Whorter, at Newark, New Jersey, about the year 1783, where he pursued the study of languages, &c. until 1784, when he was removed to the school of Dr. Peter Wilson, at Hackensack, for the purpose of obtaining an accurate knowledge of the Greek tongue, in teaching which Dr. Wilson had acquired distinguished reputation.

In 1786, Mr. Hosack entered as a pupil in Columbia college, where he remained two and a half years; he then proceeded to Nassau Hall, Princeton, then under the presidency of the Rev. Dr. Witherspoon. Here he finished his course of collegiate studies, and received the degree of bachelor of arts in the fall of 1789.

During the last year of his attendance at Columbia college, he had commenced the study of medicine and surgery, under the direction of the late Richard Bayley: while at Princeton, these studies were intermitted, but immediately resumed after his graduation, and exclusively continued with great assiduity. Medical instruction at that period in New York, was imparted by private teachers: the faculty of medicine, which had existed prior to the revolution, in King's (now Columbia) college, not having been reorganized. Nevertheless, the pupil enjoyed favorable opportunities of becoming well instructed in all the *practical* branches of a medical education. At that time an excellent course of lectures was delivered by Dr. Richard Bayley and by Dr. Wright Post, upon Anatomy and Surgery; Dr. Nicholas Romayne lectured upon the practice of physic, the materia medica, chemistry, and botany; Dr. Samuel Bard delivered a practical course of instruction upon obstetrics and the diseases of women and children. At the same time too, the alms-house, then located in the city of New York, on the site now occupied by the city hall, was attended by Dr. Nicholas Romayne, Dr. William Moore, and Dr. Benjamin Kissam, as physicians, and by Dr. Post as surgeon of the establishment. Under their care, this infirmary was rendered a profitable school of practical instruction to the students of medicine and surgery; while the sick received all the benefits of the abilities and education of the distinguished physicians by whom they were visited in rotation. The cases were regularly recorded, and the prescriptions entered by the clerk of the house, selected from the students, in the same manner as is pursued in the infirmary of Edinburgh. These cases were afterward made the subjects of clinical lectures by the physicians in attendance.

The subject of this memoir not only gave daily attendance at this school, but enjoyed more immediate advantages as one of the clerks of the prescribing physicians.

Solicitous of further improvement, he afterwards proceeded to the city of Philadelphia, which had great reputation from its distinguished professors, Shippen, Rush, Hutchinson, Kuhn, Wistar, Barton, and Griffiths. After attendance upon a full course of lectures, and the practice of the hospital of that city, the University of Pennsylvania conferred upon him, in 1791, the degree of M. D., upon which occasion he wrote a dissertation on Cholera Morbus, in which he defended the peculiar doctrines on that subject taught by Dr. Kuhn. He also, during the same winter, attended the lectures of Dr. Rush, the professor of the theory and practice in the college of Philadelphia,—which was a rival medical school, to that of the university—availing himself at the same time of the benefits of a course of lectures on practical anatomy, by the late Dr. Foulke.

By the advice of his friend, Dr. Rush, in whose family he had become domesticated, and who always took a deep interest in the welfare of his pupils, Dr. Hosack undertook the practice of his profession in Alexandria, D. C., but after a year's residence there, although in that time he had a full share of the practice of the town, he returned to his native city, taking with him the warmest testimonials of approbation from the public authorities, and of the most distinguished private citizens.

Upon his return to New York in the spring of 1792, a number of deaths by drowning having occurred, he wrote and published an essay on the means of restoring life in cases of suspended animation, and succeeded in obtaining the coöperation of the corporation of the city in the establishment of a humane society. We shall avail ourselves of the language of a communication on this subject from a contemporary,* and, if we mistake not, a co-worker with Dr. Hosack in his benevolent projects; "But in the *charities* of life, in those services which carry comfort to the poor and distressed, was he eminently useful. To him the humane society is indebted for its establishment: when he first joined it, it was called the Jail society, and its services were confined to the supply of provisions to the prisoners confined in jail for debt; upon his suggestion, and through his instrumentality a charter was obtained extending the objects of

* General Jacob Morton, of New York.

its charity, and naming it the "Humane society;" a convenient soup house was erected with the funds of the institution, aided by the corporation; apparatus for the recovery of persons apparently drowned, were procured and distributed in several parts of the city. The services of the society were then extended to a relief of the respectable poor who chose to apply. In the severe winters with which our city has been visited, this institution was eminently and extensively useful. A general direction was also given to the matron of the house never to refuse an applicant; so that our city might have the proud boast that no one need perish of hunger."

A few weeks after Dr. Hosack's return to New York, finding the chief practice of the city in the hands of physicians who derived considerable reputation and the confidence of their fellow citizens from the circumstance of their having been educated abroad; and being animated by a desire of further and more extensive improvement, he resolved to repair to the medical schools of Edinburgh and London.

His father cheerfully assented to his views, and liberally gave him an unlimited credit. He accordingly repaired to the university of Edinburgh, then in the zenith of its reputation, and adorned by a constellation of the greatest men of that age. Here he had unceasing opportunities of improvement in the practice of medicine during the autumn and winter of 1792–3. His attendance, too, upon the royal medical and the royal physical societies of Edinburgh, of which he became a member, doubtless contributed greatly to his improvement.

His intercourse with the learned of Edinburgh was no less profitable. His acquaintance with the Rev. Dr. Erskine, Mr. Henry Mackenzie, the author of the "Man of Feeling," Dr. Charles Stuart, &c., added to the attentions he received from Principal Robertson, Professors Gregory, Hamilton, Duncan, and others, could not fail to have greatly enlarged his views, professional and literary, and thus to have laid the foundation of that devotedness to those pursuits which he ever after manifested, and for which he has been distinguished.

In the spring of 1793 Dr. Hosack visited the birth-place of his father, in the north of Scotland. In this tour, carrying with him letters of introduction from Professors Gregory, Stewart, and others, he became acquainted with some of the most distinguished philosophers of that country. Principal Campbell, of Mareschal College, Aberdeen; Dr. Beattie; the Rev. Dr. Skeene Keith, of Keith Hall,

the Dean Swift of Scotland; James Brodie, of Brodie House, &c., were among the most eminent whose society and friendship he sought and acquired.

He then proceeded to London, where he was introduced by letters, to the patronage and friendship of Dr. Andrew Marshall, a distinguished teacher of anatomy and surgery, having been formerly the professor of humanity in the university of Edinburgh; to Dr. George Pearson, a physician of St. George's hospital, who was then zealously engaged as a lecturer on the practice of physic and on chemistry, and to whom the credit is due for the first introduction of the new French doctrines and chemical nomenclature of Lavoisier; to Mr. Curtis, author of the Flora Londinensis; to Sir James Edward Smith, the Linnæus of the day; and many other medical and literary characters of the metropolis.

Dr. Hosack's first step on his arrival in London, was to enter St. Bartholomew's hospital, as a pupil of surgery, under Sir James Earl and John Abernethy, the assistant surgeon of the same institution; he at the same time commenced the study of botany under Mr. Curtis, at the botanic garden at Brompton. Here he had the fortune to add to his acquaintance the Rev. Dr. Martyn, professor of botany at Cambridge; the Rev. Dr. Goodenough, late the bishop of Carlisle, but still more distinguished as the vice-president of the Linnæan society, and author of the valuable monograph, published in the transactions of that society, on the genus *carex*. Dr. Hosack, also, with a class of amateurs, consisting of the late Drs. Babington, Smyth Gibbes, and others, made weekly botanical excursions with Mr. Curtis, investigating the plants in the vicinity of London; and occasionally he gave his attention to the cryptogamous plants, under the direction of the celebrated Dickson, of Covent Garden, the "*maximus in minimis*" as he was facetiously and appropriately called by his friends; such was his skill in his investigations of this minute tribe of plants. Dr. Hosack also attended the public lectures on botany and zoology delivered by Dr., the late Sir James Edward Smith, and enjoyed the privileges of his private instruction, in the examination of the genera and species comprising the Linnæan Herbarium.

Such was his progress in botany and natural history that he was introduced as a foreign member of the Linnæan society, of which he was subsequently elected a fellow. During his residence in London, he made known to Dr. George Pearson, some valuable

facts relative to the communication of the virus of small pox from the mother to the fœtus in utero, which he had observed while practising in Alexandria: these were published by Dr. Pearson, in his excellent paper on this subject, in the Commentaries of Dr. Duncan.

Upon the commencement of the medical lectures in the autumn Dr. Hosack devoted himself to the dissecting room of Dr. Marshall; to lectures and the hospital; occasionally visiting the literary institutions of London. In the winter of 1793–4 he attended the first course of lectures on mineralogy that was delivered in London, by Schmeisser, the pupil of Werner. With this additional knowledge of mineralogy, which Dr. Hosack had begun to study at Edinburgh, he continued to augment the cabinet of minerals which he had commenced in Scotland. This collection was brought by him to the United States, and was, we believe, the first cabinet that crossed the Atlantic; it was afterward deposited in Princeton college, in rooms appropriated by the trustees, but fitted up at the expense of the donor, similar to those at the "Ecole des mines," at Paris: to render this donation immediately useful, it was accompanied by a collection of the most important works on mineralogy.*

In the winter of 1793–4, Dr. Thomas Young's paper on the muscularity of the chrystaline lens was read to the Royal Society, attributing to this power the capacity which the eye possesses of adapting itself to the different distances of objects. This subject attracted the notice of our young American physician. By an examination of the structure, and by various preparations of the chrystaline lens, he very soon discovered the errors of Dr. Young, and by his experiments upon the eye, made upon himself and others, and a minute dissection of the external muscles, ascertained that these last organs alone possessed the power of changing the axis of the eye according to the distances of objects observed. His views were exhibited to a number of scientific friends, who recommended him to present the paper to the Royal Society. It was read to that body by Dr. Pearson, and referred to a committee, who at the next meeting of the society, made a very elaborate report upon the whole subject and the peculiar

* The specimens were systematically arranged and marked by Dr. Hosack soon after his return from Europe, assisted by the late Dr. Archibald Bruce, who was then his private pupil, and whose attention was thus first awakened to the subject.

views of the writer.* It was ordered to be published in the transactions of the society, and the thanks of that body to be communicated to the author. That paper made a strong and favorable impression upon the medical and literary men of London, gave the author high consideration, and laid the foundation of the honor afterward conferred upon him by the Royal Society, in admitting him a fellow of that institution. In the abridgment of the Transactions, published by Drs. Hutton, Shaw, and Pearson, the same paper has been reprinted entire.

In the summer of 1794, Dr. Hosack returned to New York, and entered upon the practical duties of his profession, which he continued to prosecute with unremitting ardor and success nearly to the time of his death.

In 1795, he was elected to the professorship of botany in Columbia college: the following year he published a syllabus of his lectures in that branch of natural history, containing an outline of the history and progress of botany from the earliest period to the time of the publication, being aided in the same by an extensive botanic library, afterwards purchased by the governors of the New York hospital. About this time he commenced a system of instruction to his private pupils, that proved not only of signal benefit to them, but to all who were engaged in the study of medicine,—the other practitioners of the city finding it necessary to adopt the same system in giving private instruction to their pupils. The advantages offered by Dr. Hosack to his pupils, and the liberality with which he provided every thing necessary or useful in their education, soon became generally known and served to secure to him an ascendency as a private teacher, which he continued to retain while in practice.

But Dr. Hosack's interest in the welfare of his pupils was not confined to the period of their study; such was his attachment to those who signalized themselves by their industry, zeal, talent, and correct moral deportment, that when they entered on the practice of their profession, he never ceased to exert himself in their behalf, by aiding in their establishment, and anxiously availing himself of every occasion to bring them into public notice.

Dr. Hosack's early practice was eminently successful, and several

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* These views of the subject first suggested to Mr. Ramsden, the construction of his *artificial eye*, as the means of testing the correctness of the doctrine contended for and which is now generally employed by teachers of optics to illustrate the theory of vision.

extraordinary cases which had been under his care were described and published in the Edinburgh Annals of medicine. The appearance of the yellow fever in New York in 1795, afforded him a favorable opportunity of signalizing himself, which he did not neglect.

In the autumn of that year, Dr. Samuel Bard found it necessary, as preparatory to his contemplated retirement from the practice o medicine, in which he had been assiduously engaged for nearly half a century, to leave the city for some weeks; upon this occasion he requested Dr. Hosack, to whom he had formed a strong attachment, to take charge of his practice during his absence. Our young physician attended to his trust with so much zeal and fidelity, that upon Dr. Bard's return to town, finding his patients gratified by the attentions they had received, and the success with which their complaints had been treated; he immediately proposed a connexion in business. This accordingly took place on the 1st of January, 1796, and was continued four years, when Dr. Bard finally removed to his country seat at Hyde Park, leaving Dr. Hosack in the full possession of an extensive and lucrative practice.

During the prevalence of the yellow fever in New York in the years 1795-6-7-8, and 1801, 1803, 1805, 1819, and 1822, he distinguished himself by the zeal and success with which he prescribed the *sudorific treatment*, which had been originally recommended by Sydenham in the treatment of malignant fever; by Dr. Warren in the yellow fever of Barbadoes; and by Dr. John Bard in the same disease when prevailing in New York, in 1762. The attention which Dr. Hosack paid to this disease in the years referred to, received, in a peculiar manner, the approbation of his fellow citizens; for it was remarked of him, that during those several epidemics he was always present, and thereby enjoyed the amplest opportunities of observation and of forming correct opinions of the nature and character of the disease. In 1798, he was himself attacked with it, and he pursued in his own case the same treatment he had so successfully made use of in others. Such too, was the public confidence in the correctness of his views and practice, that at the request of the corporation and board of health of New York, he was frequently called upon to visit the sick for the express purpose of ascertaining the character of a disease, to allay thereby the anxiety of their fellow citizens. In 1811, he was requested, as a member of a committee, to investigate the nature, and trace the introduction of the yellow fever which appeared at Amboy in New Jersey, in that year. The report of that committee which was communicated to Dewitt Clinton

as president of the board of health, was written by Dr. Hosack. This luminous and circumstantial statement, was received as a conclusive document, shewing the specific character of the disease and its communication by means of contagion, and was republished in the medical journals of Edinburgh and London.

The letters, essays, and reports written by Dr. Hosack on this subject are so numerous that we cannot undertake to name them but will refer the reader to the "American Medical and Philosophical Register, four volumes, octavo, edited by Drs. Hosack and Francis, and to the three volumes of "Essays on Various Subjects of Medical Science," which were published by the doctor himself. We are well aware that the doctor's views of contagion and infection have been, and are, discussed, debated, and controverted, and it is not for us to decide "when doctors differ;" but it will not be improper for us to say, that his opinions have been approved by a great number of the most distinguished names in the profession at home and abroad. We select, in illustration, the following compliment from the preface to "Thomas's Practice," which was dedicated by the author to Dr. Hosack. "I very much regret that Dr. Hosack's discourse on the medical police of the city of New York, and which has been published at the particular request of the corporation thereof, did not fall under my inspection in sufficient time to notice, in the present edition, under the head of yellow fever, some of the valuable observations and regulations recommended therein for the suppression and extinction of the contagion of the disease. Here I can only say, that the body of evidence brought forward and detailed in this discourse ought, in my opinion, forever to set at rest the question which relates to the origin of that fatal malady: it clearly proves that the yellow fever arose from imported contagion, and had not a domestic origin, or was the product of decomposed animal and vegetable matter."

In 1797, upon the death of Dr. W. P. Smith, professor of materia medica in Columbia college, that branch was connected with botany and Dr. Hosack appointed to the joint professorships; in which situation he continued until 1807, when, upon the establishment of the college of physicians and surgeons of the university of the state of New York, he was chosen by the regents the professor of the materia medica and midwifery. In 1811, when it was deemed expedient to remodel the medical school, he was elected to the chair of the theory and practice of physic and clinical medicine, to which was afterwards added the professorship of obstetrics and the diseases of

women and children. We have seen it noticed in a resolution of thanks adopted by the students in 1812, that during the season Dr. Hosack had delivered upwards of one hundred lectures on the theory and practice, exclusive of a separate course on midwifery. It certainly detracts nothing from the reputation of his able colleagues to say, that to his unwearied exertions and abilities in the discharge of his professional duties, much of the celebrity and increasing prosperity of the medical school were justly to be attributed. After a few years of increasing prosperity, however, difficulties occurred between the professors and the trustees, which resulted in the resignation of the former, and the establishment of the Rutgers medical college.

This institution was organized in the fall of 1826, and a majority of the former professors, with the late Dr. Godman, commenced their professional duties in a manner flattering to themselves and advantageous to their pupils. For four terms this school maintained a strong and powerful rivalry with the state establishment, and in the number of its hearers and graduates, enjoyed, it is believed, a decided superiority. Legislative restrictions, however, interposed; and the advantages anticipated by a noble spirit of competition in the means of advancing medical science were thus cut off.

Besides the duties of private practice and public teaching, Dr. Hosack filled for many years the station of physician to that valuable practical school of medicine, the New York hospital; he was also an active member of most of the literary, scientific, and benevolent institutions of New York, and the records of those societies bear ample testimony to the important part which he always took in their transactions, and the liberal services which he rendered.

Enough has been said, we think, to show that if Dr. Hosack has enjoyed a high reputation as a physician, a teacher, or writer on medical subjects, it was earned by long and laborious study and indefatigable industry: it may here be added that he was always observant of the strictest punctuality in the performance of his numerous and various engagements, having scarcely ever been known either to omit the performance of his duty, or to be absent five minutes after the term prescribed for his attendance. In this he was an example well worthy of imitation by his brethren. Indeed, it is an observation of his own, no doubt founded on his experience, that the more a man has to do the better he does it, and the more punctual he is in the performance. His practice of early rising, and his temperate habits of life, were also favorable to the accomplishment of the numerous and varied services he rendered to the community.

His liberality to numerous literary and benevolent institutions is known to the public, and we know no sufficient reason for concealment wherever our pages are read, particularly as his gifts have been confined by no local boundaries. The donation to the college at Princeton has already been mentioned; he afterwards kindly presented a large and valuable collection of works on mathematics and chemistry to the library of Columbia college: nor should we pass over in silence the interest he manifested in resuscitating the American academy of fine arts. At a period when it was at its most depressed condition, he came forward, made the necessary pecuniary advances, and took the hazard of being reimbursed from the receipts of its subsequent exhibitions. In this, however, he was fortunately repaid. He afterwards added to the very rich collection of statuary owned by the academy, several valuable donations. The commencement of the medical library in the New York hospital; the improvement in the organization, and the extension of the city dispensary; and the first introduction of vaccination in the city of New York, are no less creditable to his intelligence than to the best feelings of his heart.

The discourses which he delivered before the New York historical society, the horticultural society, the New York city temperance society, &c., the biographical sketches and obituary notices which have been published, in addition to the innumerable scientific and professional papers, all bear witness to his habits of research, close investigation, clear discrimination, and varied learning. He also published a system of Practical Nosology, a second edition of which appeared in 1821.

In 1830, Dr. Hosack concluded to retire from the practice of the profession of medicine, and to remove into the country, exchanging his pursuits for the more healthful occupation of agriculture. With this view he purchased the valuable estate at Hyde Park, on the Hudson, that had been formerly the residence of his patron and friend, Dr. Bard: there, in the midst of a numerous, amiable, and happy family, he continued to reside from May to November, passing the other portion of the year in the city of New York. When in the country, he zealously devoted himself to the cultivation and improvement of his farm and pleasure grounds, which were very extensive, and adorned by all that wealth and refined taste could add to a spot which nature had amply endowed.

We have thus presented the readers of the Portrait Gallery with a rapid but faithful outline of the more prominent events which marked

the life of David Hosack. Our prescribed limits forbid more minuteness. He who from an early beginning devoted the best energies of a well disciplined intellect for a period of more than forty years to the service of science and humanity, commanded the admiration of all who cherished that devotion for the welfare of society which ennobles our species. Conspicuous, moreover, as the medical profession of this country have ever been in works of benevolence, and in deeds conducive to the advancement of sound learning, none in that eminent rank of men can be pointed out who have surpassed the subject of this sketch. We have seen that the humane society, the city dispensary, and other charities have had the boundaries of their benevolence enlarged by his suggestions; the Jennerian discovery found in him its promptest and most strenuous advocate almost immediately after the great blessing was promulgated abroad; the rigors of prison discipline have been meliorated by his measures; and in seasons of pestilence, when dismay and danger invaded every inhabitant, with an intrepidity surpassing all commendation, Dr. Hosack was found the sure and fixed guide, alike indifferent in himself to the power and consequences of the pestilence, and solicitous only to lessen the extent of its ravages, and to ascertain the laws by which it was governed. Hence it was well observed by a foreign critic, "I would rather be the author of Dr. Hosack's paper on the laws of contagion, than the writer of the ponderous quarto volume of Dr. Adams on morbid poisons;" and it may be further remarked, that no future historian of the malignant yellow fever, will be able to do justice to his subject without a close examination of the facts and doctrines which Dr. Hosack has recorded in his various publications. The constituted authorities and his fellow citizens accordingly, on several occasions, publicly expressed their acknowledgments of his services, and evinced their gratitude for the fidelity with which he was ever found at the post of duty.

As the cultivator of natural science, the founder of the Elgin botanic garden has peculiar claims to regard. This institution was created by vast toil and at no inconsiderable expense; the anticipations of the learned and enlightened friends of natural history in distant regions of the world have indeed been disappointed by the subsequent neglect and decay of this establishment, but no censure can fall to Dr. Hosack from this circumstance. Legislative provision for its support, was, through a singular policy, withheld, and as a legitimate consequence, what had been effected by large pecuniary means and scientific direction, without the continuance of these aids, could not otherwise than prove abortive. The generous light in which his

contributions to horticultural knowledge were viewed, led the Horticultural Society of London to award him one of its annual medals, and create him an honorary member.

But as the able and distinguished practitioner, as the learned, eloquent, and sound professor of practical medicine, it was that Dr. Hosack's title to the name of a benefactor of his species is most strongly founded. In the responsible vocation of teacher, he may safely be declared to have had no superior: for this department of knowledge, his genius and capacity seem to have been peculiarly adapted. "We take pride," said the students of his class, in a public address to him upon the termination of the annual course of his collegiate duties, "in declaring our emotions of sincere and ardent gratitude for the elaborate courses of instruction he has given on the important branches committed to his care. His enlightened and liberal views of the profession; his minute and extensive acquaintance with the treasures of ancient and modern learning; his accuracy of observation, derived from the stores of his own ample experience; his judicious and extended application of the system of induction to medical philosophy; his impressive and ready method of communication, have imparted to his lectures the highest interest, and have left us in equal admiration of the science itself, and of the ability of the lecturer."

As a member, and as president of the Historical Society of New York, he appropriated a portion of his time, of his pecuniary resources, and of his cultivated mind, towards its advancement to its present excellent condition: as the successor of the lamented Clinton, as president of the Literary and Philosophical Society, it is admitted he acted worthy of the enlightened career of his predecessor. A more disinterested tribute to the memory of a faithful patriot and eminent man, cannot readily be cited than his biography of his illustrious friend,—his memoir of De Witt Clinton.

Many of our successful cultivators in science and the arts have received the homage due to their efforts in the testimonials of foreign associations. The friends of Dr. Hosack refer with pleasurable emotions to the fact that his claims to a like distinction were not overlooked by his earliest associates abroad, and feel the greatest satisfaction that his recommendation as Fellow of the Royal Society of London in 1816, was supported by such names as Sir Joseph Banks, Sir James Edward Smith, Dr. Abraham Rees, editor of the Cyclopædia, John Abernethy, Sir Gilbert Blane, Dr. Colin Chisholm, and others. Dr. Brewster, afterwards Sir David, and the venerable John Playfair, were, we believe, among the most prominent of those who nominated

him as Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. His *alma mater*, Princeton college, conferred on him, in 1818, the degree of LL. D., and the same literary distinction was also bestowed on him by Union college.

Shortly after his retirement from the city, being invited by some of his friends to enter into political life, and to attach himself to one of the parties then existing, he declined the invitation, and in his reply thus expressed his views and feelings. "If a party could be formed favorable to the interests of *education*, of *agriculture*, and the *commercial* character of our state; to the development of its natural resources and promotive of internal improvements; to such a party I could not hesitate to avow my allegiance, and to devote the best exertions of which I am capable to advance the interests of my native state and country: but under the existing dissensions, I must decline all connexion with our political institutions, and devote myself to the cultivation of the vine and the fig-tree, as more conducive to my own happiness and that of my family."

The removal of Dr. Hosack from our world was painfully sudden. On December 22, 1837, in his 68th year, he was seized with apoplexy, and left behind him a high character for talents, learning, and moral worth. Neither his name nor his works can soon die.

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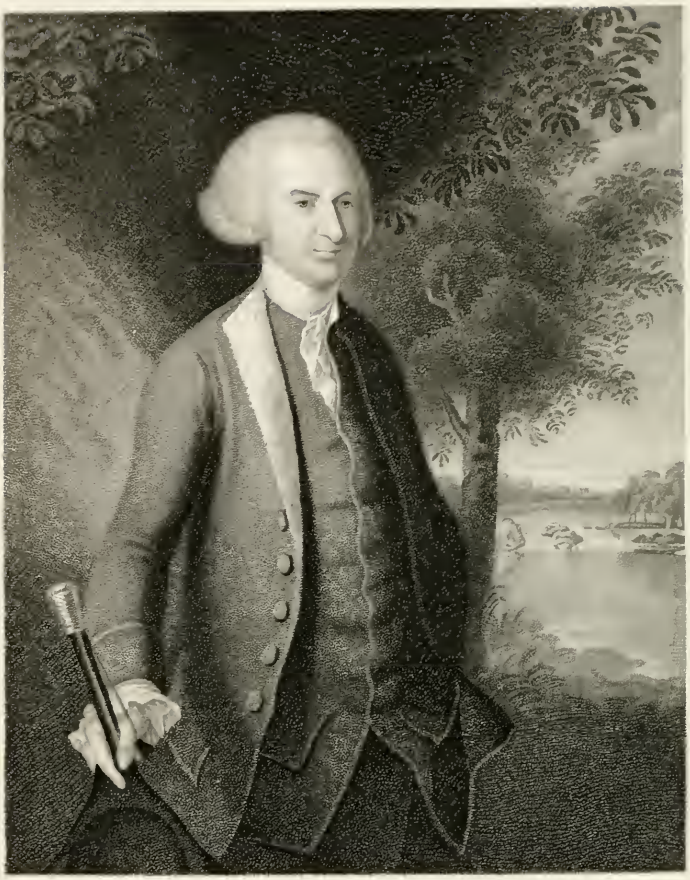

John Dickinson

JOHN DICKINSON.

To the successful prosecution of the war of independence, the power of the pen was almost as essential as that of the sword. To arouse and sustain a spirit of resistance; to give to the proclamations, addresses, and resolutions of congress a tone becoming the dignity of that body, and the destiny of the country, and to command the respect, and secure the support of the enlightened in Europe, required genius and cultivation of the highest order, and the most commanding influence. In this department of the patriotic contest, none surpassed the subject of this memoir.

John Dickinson was born in Maryland, on the 2d day of Nov., O. S., in the year 1732. Unlike many of his patriotic comrades, fortune smiled upon his early birth. The greatest advantages of youthful nurture and cultivation, formed a character admirably adapted to supply the deficiencies of many of his associates, whose loftiness of sentiment, and purity of patriotism, he was thus prepared efficiently to sustain. He was the eldest son by a second marriage of Samuel Dickinson, Esq., who, some years after his birth, removed to his estate near Dover, in Delaware, and filled the office of first judge of the court of common pleas. His mother, whose name was Mary Cadwalader, was a descendant from one of the earliest settlers of Pennsylvania. His father had sent his two eldest sons to England to be educated, but the deep affliction produced by their death in that kingdom, probably deterred him from continuing the practice, and accordingly John imbibed the rudiments of knowledge in his native land. A domestic calamity may thus have been the cause of a course of education being abandoned, which might have implanted foreign doctrines in the mind, and dried up the fountain of patriotism from the breast, of the author of the Farmer's Letters, and of the Petition of Congress to the King. Happily the American plant was not spoiled by being transplanted at too tender an age; and in its own native soil was permitted to acquire a matured growth and a firm structure. The late Chancellor Kilen, of Delaware, then a young man, was the tutor of John, but how long he continued under his charge, and in what

manner he completed his education, we have not been able to learn. The subsequent elevation of the preceptor, and the known proficiency of the pupil, in all the branches of knowledge essential to an accomplished scholar, are conclusive evidence of their qualifications and assiduity.

After having studied law under John Moland, Esq., of Philadelphia, he went to England, where he remained for three years at the Temple in London. On his return he established himself in the practice of the law in Philadelphia, where his abilities and acquirements procured for him eminent success.

His first appearance in public life was in the year 1764, as a member of the assembly of Pennsylvania. A controversy which existed between that assembly and the proprietors, founded on a claim by the latter to have their estates exempted from taxation, occasioned the first display of his abilities and eloquence as a statesman. A proposition having been made to petition the king for a change of the government of the province, Mr. DICKINSON, on the 24th of May, delivered an elaborate speech in opposition to it. Believing the measure to be fraught with rashness and danger, that the remedy bore no proportion to the existing evil, and that it was calculated to involve the province in a disastrous conflict with a superior power, he exerted himself to prevent its adoption. The aggressions of the British parliament, which finally involved the country in war, did not commence until the 24th of March of that year; but in this preliminary controversy, we can observe the cautious policy for which Mr. DICKINSON'S conduct was distinguished throughout his public career.

On the 11th of September, 1765, he was appointed a delegate to a general congress, which assembled at New York in October, and was the author of the resolutions of that body, promulgating their hostility to the measures of Great Britain, and the principles which they considered as inherent in their system of government, and to which they ever after strenuously adhered. During this year he commenced his compositions against the aggressions of England, which were continued with vigor and striking effect, until the close of the conflict.

The first production of his pen appears to have been a pamphlet published that year, entitled, "The Late Regulations respecting the British Colonies on the continent of America, considered in a Letter from a Gentleman in Philadelphia to his Friend in London," in which, with great spirit and elegance of style, as well as force of argument, he exhibited the impolicy of the ministerial measures, both as they related to a profitable intercourse between the mother country and her

colonies, and in reference to the discontents which would inevitably be produced by her illegal and oppressive exactions.

The committee of correspondence of the legislature of Barbadoes, in a letter to their agent in London, remonstrating against the English system of taxation, took occasion to compare their loyal submission "with the rebellious opposition given to authority by their fellow subjects in the northern colonies." Mr. DICKINSON took fire at the ignominious epithet so contumeliously cast upon his countrymen, and, in an admirable letter addressed to the Barbadoes committee, printed with the signature of a North American, in 1766, repelled the accusation, and, with his usual force and animation, vindicated the conduct of his fellow citizens.

But the work which most extensively spread his reputation, was the celebrated Farmer's Letters to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies, which were published in 1767, and consisted of twelve letters. Few productions have ever been attended with more signal effect, or procured for their author more extensive fame. His object in writing them was to arouse the attention of his country to the illegality of British taxation, and to the necessity of adopting rigorous measures to induce the mother country to retrace her steps of oppression. Distinguished for purity of diction and elegance of composition, they richly merit the applause which has been bestowed upon them. In a style of great vigor, animation, and simplicity, he portrayed the unconstitutionality of the conduct of Great Britain, the imminent peril to American liberty which existed, and the fatal consequences of a supine acquiescence in ministerial measures, more fatal as precedents than by the immediate calamities they were calculated to produce. The Farmer's Letters were read with intense interest, and produced the effect not merely of enlightening the public mind, but of exciting the feelings of the people to a determination not to submit to the oppressive exactions of the mother country.

Avoiding all violence of expression and of doctrine, and repelling the idea of forcible opposition, they breathe a spirit of firm independence, an ardent love of liberty, and an unconquerable resolution to yield to any sacrifice rather than tamely submit to despotism. Mr. DICKINSON was reluctant to encourage acts of hostility to the mother country, and accordingly we find that peaceful opposition was all that he then contemplated. Although he subsequently united ardently in the military operations of the colonies, yet the principles which he inculcated in the Farmer's Letters, of moderation in all the measures of opposition, seem to have followed him throughout the contest, and

to have occasioned that opposition to the declaration of independence, which it will be proper hereafter more fully to describe. The idea of separation from the mother country was to him revolting, and he therefore urged his countrymen to a peaceful but firm resistance to the ambitious schemes of enlarging the power of Great Britain. He enlightened the public mind, aroused the feelings, and was finally carried forward by the current which he had so powerfully contributed to set in motion. An allusion to his principles seems necessary, fully to comprehend his character and the motives by which he was influenced. At all times active and energetic in his opposition to the measures of Great Britain, he did not unite in sentiment with the majority of his patriotic associates, in those daring measures which gave so decided a cast to the revolution. In enlightening the people, and in exciting their feelings, he was a prominent leader. It was only the boldest measures that he struggled to retard, but when once adopted, no man was more fearless or animated in urging them to a successful termination.

The author of the Farmer's Letters received the most flattering commendations. At a meeting of the inhabitants of Boston, in Faneuil hall, it was resolved that the thanks of the town should be given to him, and Dr. Church, John Hancock, Samuel Adams, Dr. Joseph Warren, the hero of Bunker Hill, and John Roe, were appointed a committee to prepare and publish a letter of thanks. A highly complimentary letter was accordingly published, in which, after paying a tribute of respect to the author, they say that, "to such eminent worth and virtue, the inhabitants of the town of Boston, the capital of the province of Massachusetts Bay, in full town meeting assembled, express their gratitude. Though such superior merit must assuredly, in the closest recess, enjoy the divine satisfaction of having served, and possibly saved this people; though veiled from our view, you modestly shun the deserved applause of millions; permit us to intrude upon your retirement, and salute the Farmer as the friend of Americans, and the common benefactor of mankind." The answer of the Farmer was published in the Boston Gazette. An edition of the Letters was published in 1769, in Virginia, with a preface written by Richard Henry Lee, and in May, 1768, Dr. Franklin caused them to be republished in London, with a preface from his own elegant pen, urging them upon the attention of the public. In 1769, they were translated into French and published at Paris.

Mr. Dickinson was, in 1774, a member of a committee from the several counties of Pennsylvania, convened for the purpose of giving

instructions to the assembly, by whom delegates to congress were to be chosen. He prepared a series of resolutions and a letter of instruction, which, amidst the numerous acts of a similar description in the several colonies, attracted peculiar attention, by their precise and determinate manner, as well as by the merit of being the most formal and complete exposition of the rights of the colonies, and of their grievances, which had then been published. After having been reported by the committee without objection, they were so far modified as to separate the argumentative part from the rest, but the whole were ordered to be published,—the former as an "Essay on the Constitutional Power of Great Britain over the Colonies in America." The committee unanimously agreed "that their thanks should be given from the chair to JOHN DICKINSON, for the great assistance they have received from the laudable application of his eminent abilities to the service of his country in the above performance." In his reply to this tribute of respect, which was communicated to him formally from the chair, he very modestly observed,—"The mere accident of meeting with particular books, and conversing with particular men, led me into the train of sentiments, which the committee are pleased to think just; and others with the like opportunities of information would much better have deserved to receive the thanks they now generously give."

Mr. DICKINSON took his seat in congress as a deputy from Pennsylvania, on the 17th of October, 1774, and immediately became engaged in the composition of the addresses of that body, which shed so much lustre on its proceedings, and now constitute no small portion of its fame. A dignified and elegant appeal to the inhabitants of Quebec, designed to enlist them in the common cause of the defence of their rights, emanated from his pen. But it was the petition to the king which won the highest admiration, on both sides of the Atlantic, and which will remain an imperishable monument to the glory of its author, and of the assembly of which he was a member, so long as fervid and manly eloquence, and chaste and elegant composition, shall be appreciated. Containing a clear exposition of the grounds of complaint, communicated in a respectful manner, it breathes a spirit of uncompromising freedom, and was calculated to strike deep into the heart, if any thing short of adulation could reach it, of him to whom it was addressed. However vain may have been the idea of awakening the king to a sense of the wrongs which, under his immaculate authority were committed, the eloquent composition of DICKINSON reached other hearts, and rallied to the support of the sacred cause in

which he had so earnestly embarked, a host of advocates whose applause and benedictions cheered the votaries of freedom in the gloomiest hours of their tribulations. He was not originally a member of the committee appointed to perform the delicate and important duty of framing an address from an assembly, which professed to be composed of loyal subjects, to their distant monarch, but it consisted of Mr. Henry, Mr. Lee, J. Adams, Johnson, and Rutledge. It was appointed on the first of October, and Mr. DICKINSON's enemies having succeeded in retarding his election to congress, he did not take his seat until the 17th. Mr. Henry actually prepared and reported an address which, not according with the views of congress, was recommitted, and Mr. DICKINSON was on the 21st added to the committee, and on the 24th reported the petition which was adopted. In patriotism Patrick Henry and JOHN DICKINSON resembled each other, but in many respects they bore the most decided contrast. Mr. Henry was an orator of incomparable powers; impetuous, undisciplined, and ready not only to support the boldest measures, but eager to rush onward in the revolutionary career, looking to nothing short of independence, and affecting no respect for a monarch whose authority he could not brook. Mr. DICKINSON, equally devoted to his country, looked with habitual respect upon the mother country and her king, and until the irrevocable step was taken by the declaration of independence, considered the restoration of harmony between the two countries, based upon the security of the rights of the colonies, as the consummation of sound policy and enlightened patriotism. With extensive stores of learning, and a highly polished intellect, were associated that caution, and perhaps hesitancy, which induced him to avoid rashness as one of the greatest errors that could be committed, and to deprecate the breaking of the ranks of peaceful opposition, by the chivalrous spirits, who, perhaps, stirred up by his own eloquent compositions, sounded in his ears the war-notes of revolution, as the only remedy for the grievances which he had so inimitably portrayed. Mr. Henry's draught, besides being defective in point of composition, was filled with asperities which did not comport with the conciliatory disposition of congress.

As there was no deficiency of men prepared and anxious to press the revolutionary car on to its goal, it was fortunate for the country that congress possessed one man of the peculiar constitution of JOHN DICKINSON; for through his instrumentality, whilst they were rushing with a patriotic impetuousness into the midst of a sanguinary revolution, and their country was rapidly bursting its fetters and

rising into national existence; their cause was invested with a dignity, moderation, and firmness; their motives were exhibited in a condition of purity; and the holy principles of civil liberty, which they were struggling to sustain, were promulgated to the world with a force and clearness, which commanded the respect of the civilized world, and have commended the conflict to the nations of the earth as an example which has been gazed at with admiration, and on several occasions followed with ardor.

With the view of making another effort to arrest the progress of oppression, Mr. DICKINSON urged the propriety of presenting a second petition to the king; but it was warmly opposed in congress as altogether futile; the determination to persist in error being as manifest as the discontent it had produced. The confidence he had inspired, and his deservedly great influence, enabled him, however, to accomplish his object; and the second petition to the king, written by him, ranks with its predecessor in usefulness to the cause, as well as in the peculiar merits of the composition. The highest encomiums were bestowed upon them, and it is believed that they powerfully contributed to draw upon congress the celebrated panegyric of Lord Chatham, in which, after alluding to the writings of antiquity, and the patriotism of Greece and Rome, he gave to that body a preference over the assemblies of the master states of the world. The literature of the revolution is a proud field for an American to contemplate. Filled with noble sentiments, lofty patriotism, untainted virtue, and a wisdom which seems to combine all that is essential for the protection of human freedom, there is a rich vein of eloquence irrigating the teeming soil, which the proudest and most cultivated nations of the earth might exult to call their own.

One of the most eloquent and soul-stirring productions of Mr. DICKINSON's pen, was the declaration of congress of July 6th, 1775, setting forth the causes and necessity of their taking up arms, which was proclaimed at the head of the several divisions of the army. He appears, when writing this admirable composition, to have been excited to a pitch of enthusiasm, not surpassed by the most chivalrous of the revolutionary patriots; and to have uttered his eloquent invectives against despotism, with a spirit prophetic of the glorious result. "We are reduced," said he, "to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers or resistance by force The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. Honor, justice, and humanity, forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we

received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits them, if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them."

Allusion has already been made to the conciliatory views of Mr. DICKINSON, and to his repugnance to a final separation from Great Britain. In producing a measure of the vast importance of the declaration of independence, it was to have been expected that a great difference of opinion respecting its propriety should exist. Accordingly we find that members of congress became converts to the measure at various periods, and that several whose patriotism was unquestionable, and whose opposition to the despotism of Great Britain had been distinguished by brilliant exertions and extensive sacrifices, refused to coöperate in its adoption. JOHN DICKINSON was the most conspicuous of them. Believing that it was at least premature; that the country was not prepared to sustain it; that it would interfere with foreign alliances, since nations hostile to Great Britain would not be likely to advocate the American cause, when their hostility to Great Britain was gratified by the severance of the British empire; and that dissensions might spring up among the colonies, unless some provision was made for the settlement of their controversies before "they lost sight of that tribunal, which had hitherto been the umpire of all their differences," he exerted himself to retard its adoption. But it was in vain. His own eloquent compositions had sunk too deeply into the hearts of the people, and their feelings were aroused to too high a pitch of indignation at the conduct of Great Britain, to falter in their march to national independence. A majority of the Pennsylvania delegation were opposed to the declaration; but on the 4th of July, Mr. DICKINSON and another member, Mr. Morris, thought fit so far to withdraw their opposition, as, by their absence, to leave a majority of one in its favor. The vote of Pennsylvania was thus added to those of her sister states. The signatures of some of the members, who at the time had strenuously opposed it, were subsequently affixed to it, and are transmitted to posterity as contemporaneous participators in that act of daring intrepidity. But Mr. DICKINSON's name has never been associated with it, nor does it appear that he ever recanted the opinion which he had expressed of its propriety, although he not merely acquiesced in it, but engaged with his accustomed zeal and assiduity in preparing and carrying into effect the measures necessary to sustain it. However much we may

regret that his name is not enrolled on that instrument, which is now the pride and the boast of every American, it would not only be uncharitable, but it would be wantonly to dim the lustre of one of the brightest of the revolutionary luminaries, to suspect the purity of his motives, or to diminish the gratitude of the country to him. Party spirit at that period was powerful, and his enemies successfully assailed him. His reëlection to congress was defeated, and the public lost his services for about two years, on the theatre for which he was the best adapted. He soon, however, exhibited convincing evidence that his course with regard to the declaration of independence, did not proceed from a disposition to shield himself from danger, and that his patriotism was too ardent to be cooled by the frowns of his countrymen. He was actually at camp performing military duty, when the loss of his election to congress occurred. We have been able to glean but few particulars of his military services. It appears that he marched with his regiment to Elizabethtown to meet the enemy, and served as a private soldier in Capt. Lewis's company, when on a similar expedition to the Head of Elk. In October, 1777, he received from Mr. McKean, then president of Pennsylvania, a commission of brigadier-general; the duties of which he fulfilled in a satisfactory manner.

In April, 1779, he was unanimously elected to congress, and resumed the performance of his legislative duties with his accustomed ardor and effect. In the month of May, he wrote the address of that body to the states, upon the situation of public affairs; a production distinguished by his usual felicity of composition and warmth of patriotic feeling. The condition of the country is vividly described, and the states are urged to exertion to rescue it from the abject situation to which a depreciated paper currency, a prodigality in the expenditure of the public money, and the exhaustion of war, had reduced it.

In 1780, he was elected to represent the county of Newcastle in the assembly of Delaware; and was in the same year, unanimously elected president of that state, by the two branches of the legislature. In 1782, he was elected president of the supreme executive council of Pennsylvania, which office he continued to fill until October, 1785.

It is natural to suppose that a man who was so deeply indebted to literature as Mr. Dickinson, and whose life had been so sedulously devoted to the application of its inestimable riches to the service of his country, would not, amidst his numerous benefactions, overlook education, the main spring of republican greatness and stability. The act

of assembly incorporating a college to be established in the borough of Carlisle, has happily perpetuated the remembrance of his munificent patronage of learning, as well as the public sense of his exalted merit. It declares that—"In memory of the great and important services rendered to his country by his excellency JOHN DICKINSON, Esq., president of the supreme executive council, and in commemoration of his very liberal donation to the institution, the said college shall be forever hereafter called and known by the name of *Dickinson College*." The institution which was thus brought into existence under the auspices and by the liberality of this great man, is destined, it is hoped, to be a perpetual monument to his fame, and a perennial fountain of unadulterated knowledge and patriotism. Fortunately located near the centre of a powerful state, surrounded by ample resources for its sustenance, and accessible to all the means which give facility to education, its prosperous career is a fit subject for patriotic aspirations. Clouds, it is true, have occasionally darkened its prospects; but in the midst of its adversities, its fame, the advantages of its position, and the exertions of the friends of education, have twice raised it from a prostrate condition, and it bids fair to fulfil the benevolent and patriotic anticipations of its founder. In the selection of the locality of the institution, Mr. DICKINSON appears, as in all of his other public services, to have been actuated by disinterested motives, and to have looked beyond the present time to advance the permanent good of the community. Philadelphia had been, and Wilmington was destined to be, the place of his residence. Carlisle was out of the sphere of his movements and of his influence, but being the centre of a large and growing community, in bestowing his bounty and his services, he looked beyond the time and the space in which he lived.

The formation of a constitution for the United States, was a task to which Mr. DICKINSON's extensive political knowledge, great abilities, and enlightened views, were peculiarly adapted. Having participated in the adoption of the articles of confederation, and had abundant experience of their numerous deficiencies, and of the total impracticability of preserving public honor, social order, or even national existence, with their contracted powers and feeble authority, Mr. DICKINSON met the convention of 1787, as a delegate from Delaware, with a clear conviction of the momentous duty assigned to him, and a firm determination to leave no effort untried to rescue the country from impending ruin. His exertions were not confined to the convention. The constitution, when submitted to the people for their

ratification, met with violent, and in some quarters with unprincipled, opposition. Mr. Dickinson published nine letters, with the signature of *Fabius*, in its defence. Although he did not enter into all the details of the plan reported by the convention, nor attempt that systematic vindication of it which was performed by the "Federalist," yet the letters of Fabius are a valuable acquisition to our stock of constitutional literature, and present a conclusive chain of reasoning on many important topics which they discussed. He very properly disregarded the fear of consolidation from the operations of the federal government, and considered the guarantees of the states, furnished by the organization of the federal system, as entirely adequate to the protection of the rights of the states, and that the freedom of the people would be more likely to be placed in jeopardy by the weakness than by the strength of the federal authority.

In the year 1792, he was a member of the convention which formed the constitution of Delaware, and displayed his usual activity and abilities in the performance of all the duties which the occasion required.

In the year 1797, he published another series of letters bearing the signature of *Fabius*, which were occasioned by the special call of congress to meet on the 25th of March. His gratitude and predilection for France, are strongly depicted in them; and although they are more than usually discursive, they are replete with liberal and generous sentiments. He professed to write from the impulse of duty, but complains that "neither my time, nor my infirmities, will permit me to be attentive to style, arrangement, or the labors of consulting former publications." Breathing an ardent desire for the extension of freedom, he seems to have viewed the exertions in France in its behalf, with admiration and high expectation; and to have looked upon the conduct of England with a jealous eye, as partaking of that description which he had devoted the prime of his life in combating.

Wilmington had been selected by him as the place of his residence, where, retired from the toil and anxieties of public life, enjoying an affluent fortune, surrounded by friends who loved him, and by books which, to him, were a constant source of consolation, he spent the concluding years of his life, dispensing among others the blessings which he enjoyed himself, and receiving in return the heartfelt tribute of popular veneration.

He was married on the 19th of July, 1770, to Mary Norris, only daughter of Isaac Norris, of Fair Hill, Philadelphia county, and had two daughters, who survived him.

He died on the 14th of Feb., 1808, at the age of seventy-five. Mr Dickinson deserves to be ranked among the most distinguished men of the age in which he lived. Whether we consider the extent of his participation in producing the revolutionary war, and in urging it to a prosperous termination, the steadiness of purpose which directed his path, the inflexible spirit with which he adhered to the cause amidst the numerous discouragements which beset his career, the lustre which his admirable compositions shed upon his country, his accomplishments as a scholar, the purity of his character, and elevation as an orator and statesman, an exalted station must be assigned to him in the highest rank of our most illustrious countrymen. It is, however, chiefly in his labors as an author, that his greatest merit consists. His writings are conspicuous for energy, perspicuity, and simplicity of style, and often rise to strains of impassioned eloquence. His principles were of the most liberal cast consistent with social order. His sentiments were as pure as they were exalted, and a rich vein of benevolent feeling pervades every production of his pen. His devotion to the cause of human freedom, teems in every page. Furnishing copious and exact information of many of the most prominent transactions of the revolution, and of the controversy in which it originated, in a style of unadulterated purity and elegance, his writings constitute a valuable portion of the literature of the country. We there hear the voice of the first congress, and see exhibited the fortitude and patriotism of the fathers of the republic.

Mr. Dickinson was charged with advocating a timid policy, inconsistent with the spirit which became the great cause in which he had embarked, but nothing of the sort appears in his writings. Although he did orally advise congress to pursue a less daring course than that which was successfully adopted, when he wielded the pen, he invariably made congress speak in a manner that became its dignity, fearlessness, and exalted position, in the presence of the world and of after ages. Many of his views were peculiar. He had early acquired the opinion, that separation from England ought not to be sought after, but that the true object of pursuit was to coerce her to yield to the requisitions of freedom and of justice; and it clung to him throughout the contest. But he supported his associates in the execution of their most energetic measures, and devoted an undivided affection to the cause of his country, no matter by whom, nor in what manner directed. "Two rules I have laid down for myself throughout this contest," said he on an important question in congress, in 1779, "to which I have constantly adhered, and still design to adhere.

First, on all occasions where I am called upon, as a trustee for my countrymen, to deliberate on questions important to their happiness, disdaining all personal advantages to be derived from a suppression of my real sentiments, and defying all dangers to be risked by a declaration of them, openly to avow them; and secondly, after thus discharging this duty, whenever the public resolutions are taken, to regard them, though opposite to my opinion, as sacred, because they lead to public measures in which the common weal must be interested, and to join in supporting them as earnestly as if my voice had been given for them.

"If the present day is too warm for me to be calmly judged, I can credit my country for justice some years hence."

Having seen the patriot faithful to the end of his career, and undeviating in his course, the peculiarity of his opinions, at a critical conjuncture, should not affect the estimate which posterity should place upon his patriotism and public services.

In private life he was conspicuous for the dignity and simplicity of his manners, the benevolence of his disposition, the purity of his morals, and his veneration for religion. His conversation was distinguished for its vivacity, and enriched by the extensive stores of knowledge which, in study and in active life, he had accumulated. His charities were as munificent as they were well directed, and displayed an exalted spirit of benevolence and patriotism. As an orator, his admirers assigned to him a high grade of excellence. If his tongue partook of the fluency and animation of his pen, he must have rivalled the eloquence of his contemporaries, whose oratory has been the theme of such exalted and well merited commendation.

He possessed the most delicate sense of honor, and cherished his character for integrity with the fondest regard; of which the following occurrence, with which we shall close this brief memoir, is a striking illustration, and also vindicates his title to one of his noblest productions. Chief Justice Marshall, in the first volume of his life of Washington, erroneously ascribed the address to the king to Mr. Lee. This produced a remonstrance from Mr. DICKINSON, who, in a letter to Dr. Logan, dated Sept. 15, 1804, gives a detailed account of the proceedings of Congress, and fully vindicates his title to the authorship. The error was subsequently corrected by the chief justice. "I have said," says Mr. DICKINSON, "that the chief justice has cast a reflection upon my character, and a very serious one it is, from whatever cause it has proceeded. The severity of the reflection arises from this circumstance. In the year 1800, two young printers applied to me for my

consent to publish my political writings, from which they expected to derive some emolument. I gave my consent, and in the following year they published in this place, two octavo volumes *as my political writings.*

"This publication being made in the town where I reside, no person of understanding can doubt that I must be acquainted with the contents; of course I must be guilty of the greatest baseness if, for my credit, I knowingly permitted writings which I had not composed, to be publicly imputed to me, without a positive and public contradiction of the imputation. This contradiction I never made and never shall make, conscious, as I am, that every one of those writings was composed by me.

"The question whether I wrote the first petition to the king, is of little moment; but the question whether I have countenanced an opinion that I did write it, though in reality I did not, is to me of vast importance."

It has already been intimated that Dickinson College has undergone various alternations of prosperity and adversity. Notwithstanding great liberality shown by the legislature, and much voluntary effort on its behalf, many years elapsed before its establishment was fully secured. It was closed from about 1816 to 1822; and again in 1832. On June 6, 1833, the land, buildings, library, apparatus, and other property were transferred to a joint committee of the Baltimore and Philadelphia Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, with the full consent of the old board of trustees, who resigned their offices, and a new board was elected, of which the late Rev. John Emery, D. D., a Methodist bishop, was chosen president. From that period it has enjoyed increasing prosperity; so that it promises to stand an ever-during monument of its distinguished founder.

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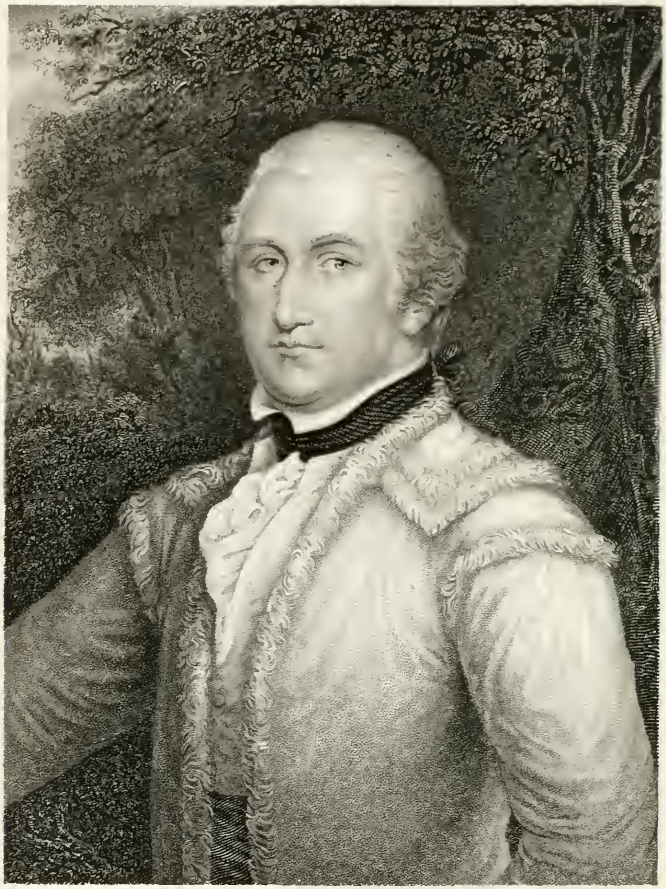

BRIG. GEN. DANIEL MORGAN

Dan Morgan

DANIEL MORGAN.

General Daniel Morgan was born in the state of New Jersey, in the year 1736.* Of his early life, little is known; but as his family were poor, his education was confined to the ordinary branches taught in a country school. The enterprising character of his mind early developed itself; and at the age of seventeen, he left the humble roof of his parents, and sought to improve his fortune in the south. His first employment was that of a wagoner, for one of the wealthy planters in Frederick county, Virginia. In this situation he continued until after the unfortunate expedition of Braddock, in which he drove his own team, attached to the army. It was during this campaign, that, under the charge of contumacy to a British officer, he was tried and sentenced to receive five hundred lashes; he submitted to the sentence, though scarcely out of the age of boyhood, with that unyielding firmness, and indifference to bodily pain, which was his peculiar pride through life. In a few days after the infliction of this disgraceful and dreadful punishment, according to the account of his friend, the accomplished author of the "Southern Campaign," the officer became convinced of the injustice of the charge, and made an ample atonement to young Morgan, in the presence of the regiment.

During this disastrous campaign, Morgan gave the first evidence of those military qualifications, that twenty years afterward placed him at the head of the partisan officers of the revolution, and won for him a celebrity not surpassed by that of any leader of that glorious war. On the return of the army, he was soon noticed by the colonial government of Virginia, and received the commission of ensign in the English service. It was in this capacity, whilst carrying despatches to a frontier post, accompanied by two soldiers, that he was suddenly attacked by a large party of Indians, and received the only dangerous wound that was ever inflicted on his person, although from 1775 to

* His father was a Welchman.

1781, he saw more service, and was more exposed, than any other individual of the American army. The two men who were with him were killed, at the first discharge; and he, in addition to several slight scratches, received a ball, which entering the back of his neck, came out through his left cheek, shattering his jaw in a shocking manner. He was mounted on a good horse; and as he fell, he had the presence of mind to maintain his balance, and to grasp firmly the neck of the animal. The savages, presuming he was mortally wounded, left him to be followed by one of their party only, and turned to scalp the two who had fallen. MORGAN, in the mean time, feeling certain that he was dying, was only anxious to get beyond the reach of his pursuer before he died, that he might prevent his body from being mangled. He urged his horse with his heels, and the noble animal escaped with him into the fort. The writer of this well remembers, when a boy, to have heard the subject of this sketch describe, in his own powerful and graphic style, the expression of the Indian's face, as he ran with open mouth and tomahawk in hand, by the side of the horse, expecting every moment to see his victim fall. But when the panting savage found the horse was fast leaving him behind, he threw his tomahawk without effect, and abandoned the pursuit with a yell of disappointment. MORGAN was taken from his horse, perfectly insensible; but with proper treatment, and after a confinement of six months in the hospital, he entirely recovered.

It was also during this campaign, that his acquaintance commenced with General, then Colonel Washington; and it was commenced under circumstances, that laid the foundation of that friendship that lasted through life, and gave to the father of his country that knowledge of the character and genius of MORGAN, which induced him at an after period to select him for those dangerous and important services which redounded so much to the credit of both.

From this period until 1774, nothing precise or distinct is known of General MORGAN, except that he was ever foremost in all the minor expeditions in defence of the Virginia frontier against the Indians. It is certain, however, he was much devoted to gambling and dissipation of every kind, and spent much of his time in scenes of turbulence and personal conflict; a village near his residence has been invested with a singular notoriety, from being the theatre of a great variety of these scenes. From the frequent fights of MORGAN and his party, it received the name of Battletown, which it retains to this day. The character of MORGAN, however, was not one that delighted in this kind of warfare, from love of broils; nor was he distinguished by any

thing like ferocity:—he was generous as he was brave, as forgiving as he was passionate. He, however, was extravagantly fond of frolic, and he never could resist a little playful mischief, whatever might be the consequence. When we take into consideration the times, the theatre, and the actors, it is not to be wondered that these jokes too often led to the most serious results. Morgan was a giant in height, and of Herculean strength; single handed he never was opposed by the individual whom he did not conquer; he ranked among his companions as did the lion-hearted Richard with the knights before Acre; he would have sacrificed life for glory, and defeat was synonymous with disgrace. Tradition couples his name with a thousand acts of daring achievement, many of them no doubt much exaggerated; but beyond dispute, for physical power, and a chivalrous fondness for scenes of daring and danger, he was one of the most extraordinary men our country has ever produced.

But however much he may have been devoted to scenes of pleasure and dissipation, this taste did not become permanently fixed upon him, nor did he neglect his worldly affairs. Before the year 1774, he had accumulated a handsome estate, and owned one of the finest farms in the county of Frederick. In this year, he commanded a company in the expedition to the west, under Lord Dunmore, against the Indians, who were defeated; on the return march, at the mouth of Hockhocking, in Ohio, he heard of the first hostilities between the Bostonians and the English. As soon as his party reached Winchester, they dissolved the corps, and passed resolutions pledging themselves to aid their brethren of Boston, should the crisis arrive. Immediately after the battle of Lexington, he was appointed a captain by congress, and requested to raise a company. Such was his military popularity, that in less than a week, ninety-six men enrolled themselves under his command, and formed the nucleus of the celebrated rifle corps, which became so distinguished throughout the war. With this party he set out for Boston which he reached in fifteen days. After remaining a few weeks before Boston, inactive, he was detached, at his own request, at the head of three rifle companies, to Quebec. He was placed under the orders of General Arnold, and led the van in that celebrated march through the woods.

After manœuvring for some days before Quebec, which they reached in a suffering condition, General Montgomery arrived, and the attack was decided upon. Morgan led the forlorn hope, under the orders of Arnold, who, being badly wounded in the leg, in the commencement of the attack, was carried from the field. Morgan then

succeeded to the command; for, although there were three field officers present, they magnanimously insisted upon waiving their rank, on account of their total inexperience. He had to attack a two-gun battery, supported by fifty men, under Captain M'Leod. The first gun missed them, the second flashed; when he ordered the ladders to be placed, he was the first to mount, and leaped into the town in the midst of M'Leod's men, who, after a faint resistance, fled into a house adjoining the platform. The late Colonel Charles Porterfield, then a cadet, followed next, and the whole corps, inspired by this act of daring courage, lost not a moment in sustaining their leader. The English soldiers were panic-struck, the battery was carried in a few minutes; the sally-port through the barrier was left open, and the people came running from all directions, and gave themselves up. At the barrier-gate he received orders to wait for General Montgomery; not satisfied, he called a council of war, when he was overruled by his officers. Morgan considered the order a fatal one; and he always felt convinced, that had he consulted his own judgment, he would have taken the garrison. He acquiesced, however; the enemy had time to rally and recover from their panic, and the news of the death of the gallant Montgomery changed the fate of the day. Morgan, with his gallant band, fought to desperation, until, overwhelmed by numbers, they became prisoners of war. Whilst a prisoner, he was importuned to accept the commission of colonel, in the British army; he indignantly rejected the insulting offer.

On his exchange, he received the appointment of colonel in the continental army, and was placed at the head of the partisan rifle corps, which Washington considered his right arm throughout the war. Although the services of this corps were considered by him as all-important to his own army, he was compelled, by the fall of Ticonderoga, and the rapid approach of Burgoyne, to deprive himself of them. Morgan was detached to the assistance of Gates. The conspicuous part he took on that occasion, which principally contributed to the surrender of the British general, and the glorious victory of Saratoga,* are matters of public history, although Gates shamefully omitted to do him justice at the time. The reason of this conduct on the part of Gates, was Morgan's refusal to countenance the pretensions of this general to supersede Washington. A reconciliation

* The English account of the battle gives the principal credit of the victory to Morgan.

afterward took place between MORGAN and Gates; and the latter, on every subsequent occasion, attempted to make amends for his injustice. The legislature of Virginia passed a resolution presenting MORGAN with a horse, pistols, and a sword; and his neighbors in Frederick named his elegant plantation "Saratoga," in honor of the brilliant share he had in that battle.

In a rapid sketch like this, it is impossible to trace its subject through all those minor but useful scenes, in which he was constantly engaged, and which gained for him a reputation unequalled by that of any officer of his grade. Those can only be touched upon which had a prominent effect upon his reputation. The great closing scene of the military career of MORGAN need only be mentioned, as it forms one of the most glorious pages of American history, and as every writer has done him full justice—we allude to the battle of the Cowpens. Some points of his early life, and his participation in the affair of Quebec, have been given more at length, because they were not as generally known. But the defeat of Tarleton is a different matter. Notwithstanding the injury Gates had inflicted on him in the affair of Saratoga, MORGAN agreed to join him in the south, having been promoted to the rank of brigadier-general; but before he could join the southern army, Gates had been defeated at the disastrous battle of Camden.

Tarleton, the most unrelenting, daring, and prompt officer in the British service, was detached in pursuit of MORGAN, with superior force. The American general, unaccustomed to fly, determined, as soon as he understood the wishes of Tarleton, not to delay the meeting. The ground where he gave battle is said to have been unfavorable; but having selected it, his arrangements were masterly, and such as, with the judicious coöperation of his gallant officers, Washington, Howard, and Pickens, to insure a glorious victory. The American general took nearly as many prisoners as he had men of his own; and congress testified the high sense they entertained of this brilliant action, by presenting him with a gold medal; Colonels Washington and Howard were highly distinguished on the same occasion, and received silver medals for the important and gallant share they had in the affair; Colonel Pickens was honored by a sword and pair of pistols.

It has been stated that a coolness took place between Greene and MORGAN, in consequence of a difference of opinion as to the mode of securing the prisoners taken in this battle; some excitement may have existed, as General Henry Lee seems to sanction such an opinion, in

consequence of Morgan's refusal to remain in the army of the south, to take charge of the light corps which was interposed between the retreating army of Greene and the advancing force of Cornwallis. But this feeling must have been momentary: he recommended his chivalrous friend, General Otho Williams, for this important command, and left the army in consequence of the infirm state of his health from previous unexampled exposure and fatigue.

He retired to his seat in Frederick county, where he was confined to bed for many months with a severe rheumatic affliction.

Of the warm friendship which subsisted between Greene and Morgan during life, the letters in the possession of their descendants, give ample proof. The following extract from one dated August 26, 1781, may suffice:

"Dear Morgan,

"Your letter of the 24th June arrived safe at head-quarters; and your compliments to Williams, Washington, and Lee, have been properly distributed. Nothing would have given me greater pleasure than to have had you with me. The people of this country *adore* you. Had you been with me a few weeks past, you would have had it in your power to give the world the pleasure of reading a second Cowpen affair; General Sumpter had the command, but the event did not answer my expectations.

"* * * * * The expedition ought to have realized us six-hundred men, and the chances were more than fifty times as much in our favor than they were at Tarleton's defeat. Great generals are scarce; there are few Morgans to be found. The ladies toast you."

At the end of the war, General Morgan retired to his estate of Saratoga, and devoted himself to agricultural pursuits with much success. In 1791, General Washington was desirous that he should be placed at the head of the expedition against the Indians; Morgan was willing, but finding a strong party in and out of congress in favor of the accomplished, gallant, but unfortunate St. Clair, he withdrew his pretensions.

In the expedition against the insurgents in Western Pennsylvania, in 1794, he commanded the army which remained in the west for some months, to suppress any lingering feelings of insurrection which might still exist. The consummate skill with which he executed his delicate task, proved that his talents as a statesman were of a high order On his return home, he was elected to congress; but after

serving two sessions, his debilitated constitution forced him to retire from public life. In 1800, he removed to Winchester, where, after a confinement from extreme debility of nearly two years, he expired on the 6th day of July, 1802. His honored widow removed to Pittsburgh, the residence of her eldest daughter, and survived him fourteen years.

General Morgan had two daughters, both married to officers of the revolution. The eldest to the late General Presly Neville, of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and the youngest to Major Heard, of New Jersey.

The character of Morgan has not generally been properly understood or appreciated; he has been classed with those who were only distinguished by a fool-hardy bravery, and contempt of danger; a kind of Ajax, who arrogated every thing to arms, and thought lightly of intellectual acquirements.

This idea is most erroneous: had the subject of this sketch enjoyed the advantages of an early and good education, few men would have been more distinguished. He possessed an acute and discriminating mind, a great knowledge of human nature, and a wit that made him the delight of his companions. He had a peculiar talent of seizing upon the ridiculous; and the *bon mots* and anecdotes of Morgan, are retailed by the third generation of his neighborhood. But thrown, in early life, amidst frontier scenes of danger and exposure, with giant size, and physical powers seldom equalled, it was natural that mental cultivation should be much neglected; but when arrived at the meridian of life, Morgan became much devoted to study: his knowledge of history was extensive, and his style of writing as exhibited in his correspondence, although inaccurate, evinced much vigor and originality of thought. In his early private life, he sought the excitement produced by danger and exposure; he was a perfect stranger to fear.

In his military career, he was discreet and cautious; although he performed more active duty than most officers of the revolution, he never struck a blow until his acute observation assured him it would be efficient. Washington and Greene considered him as possessing military genius seldom surpassed; and if any further proof of this fact be required, it may be found in the action of the Cowpens, the most brilliant affair of the whole southern war, where, upon disadvantageous ground, and with far inferior force, he defeated the most celebrated partizan officer of the enemy, at the head of a select force of the English army. In short, no officer rendered more efficient aid to the cause of his country; and he well merited the character given him by

one of the strongest writers of the United States, who, in a late work eloquently apostrophizes him as the "Hero of Quebec, of Saratoga, and the Cowpens; the bravest among the brave; and the Ney of the west."

The following note from Colonel Trumbull, will illustrate the peculiar costume of the portrait we have selected of General MORGAN, for the purpose of preserving an interesting relic of the revolution.

SIR,

You expressed an apprehension, that the rifle-dress of General MORGAN may be mistaken hereafter for a wagoner's frock, which he, perhaps, wore when on the expedition with General Braddock; there is no more resemblance between the two dresses, than between a cloak and a coat; the wagoner's frock was intended, as the present cartman's, to cover and protect their other clothes, and is merely a long coarse shirt reaching below the knee; the dress of the Virginia rifle-men who came to Cambridge in 1775, (among whom was MORGAN,) was an elegant loose dress reaching to the middle of the thigh, ornamented with fringes in various parts, and meeting the pantaloons of the same material and color, fringed and ornamented in a corresponding style. The officers wore the usual crimson sash over this, and around the waist, the straps, belts, &c., were black, forming, in my opinion, a very picturesque and elegant, as well as useful dress. It cost a trifle; the soldier could wash it at any brook he passed; and however worn and ragged and dirty his other clothing might be, when this was thrown over it, he was in elegant uniform.

I remember to have seen in Connecticut a regiment of militia drawn up for review, of which the battalion companies had adopted this rifle-dress of white linen with black straps and hats. A grenadier company had been selected of the tallest and finest men, and dressed at considerable expense in a handsome uniform of blue coats and scarlet under-dress. I first saw the regiment at the distance of half a mile; the grenadiers appeared small, and the rest of the regiment seemed grenadiers; the cause is obvious — the rifle-dress is loose, and the sleeves above the elbow loose like the ladies' dresses of the present day, and the figure of course appears larger than if dressed in a coat with tight sleeves and body; besides which, opticians teach us that white objects always seem larger than objects of the same size, but of any other color.

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Painted by G. Stuart.

FISHER AMES.

Fisher Ames

FISHER AMES, LL. D.

The peace of 1783, which confirmed the independence of the United States, by no means put an end to the difficulties under which the country labored. Oppressed by a heavy debt which it was bound alike by honor and interest to liquidate, the general government found itself without a revenue and without the power of raising one; the merchants were ruined by a long war, which had destroyed or interrupted their commerce; while many of the people were ready to resort to violence to redress their real or fancied grievances. Nor were these difficulties at once removed by the adoption of the federal constitution. With a new and untried government to put in operation, with an Indian war upon its frontiers, and civil dissension within its borders, while the varying aspect of European politics exercised a prodigious and unfavorable influence, the country had occasion for all its knowledge and ability. At this time many who had occupied subordinate stations during the war of the revolution, began to come more conspicuously forward, while others before too young for the service of their country, now first began to appear in her councils. Among these last was the subject of this biography.

Fisher Ames was born on the 9th of April, 1758, at Dedham, a pleasant country town, about nine miles south of Boston. His family was one of the oldest and most respectable in the state, and his father, a reputable physician, is said to have possessed a portion of that talent which afterwards so eminently distinguished the son. This father, Ames was so unfortunate as to lose in the seventh year of his age; and his mother was left in narrow circumstances, and with five children, to struggle through the world. Fisher had commenced the study of Latin a short time previous to the death of his father, and notwithstanding the smallness of her income, his mother determined that he should pursue his classical studies. He already gave evidence of a mind active and comprehensive beyond that of his fellows, and by a rare felicity, she lived to see her son in the meridian of his fame more than fulfilling the promise of his boyhood. In July, 1770,

shortly after he had completed his twelfth year, he was admitted to Harvard college. With a mind too immature, perhaps, to receive the full benefit to be derived from the collegiate course, his uncommon parts enabled him to outstrip those who were much his seniors, and he soon obtained a high reputation for ability. His studious habits and correct morals made him a favorite with his preceptors, while his gay disposition and amiable manners rendered him equally popular among his companions. Even at this early period he was remarkable for the talent, which afterwards constituted his principal claim to reputation. In a society formed among the students for their mutual improvement in oratory, AMES was a favorite; and his declamation, observes president Kirkland, "was remarkable for its energy and propriety." "His compositions," continues his biographer, "at this time bore the characteristic stamp which has always marked his speaking and writing. They were sententious and full of ornament. In 1774, he received his degree as Bachelor of Arts; but owing to the disturbed and excited condition of the country, his own youth, and the narrow circumstances of his mother, he did not enter at once upon the study of a profession. Meanwhile he was not idle; in teaching in one of the district schools of his native state, he at the same time obtained the means of maintaining himself, while leisure was left him for the prosecution of his favorite studies. At this time, he used afterwards to repeat, he read, with an avidity bordering on enthusiasm, almost every author within his reach." He revised the classics which he had read at college, he studied history, both natural and civil, and having a taste for the creations of the imagination, in poetry and a few good novels he found at once relaxation and amusement. In this manner his mind was strengthened and his taste improved, while he enlarged those stores of imagery with which he was always ready to adorn or illustrate his subject. Mr. AMES commenced the practice of law at Dedham, his native place, in the autumn of 1781. Though prevented by circumstances and by his youth from taking any active part in public affairs, he entered warmly into the interest of the rising states, then struggling for independence. His talents soon became known to his fellow-citizens, and they did not neglect to employ them. A paper currency depreciated far below its nominal value, caused the most serious inconveniences throughout the state; so great was the evil as to have led, in some instances, to acts of open violence.

To devise some means for the relief of the general distress, a convention of delegates from every part of the state had assembled at Concord, and after regulating arbitrarily the price of articles, had

adjourned till autumn. Mr. Ames was chosen to represent his town at this adjourned meeting. As might have been foreseen, the plan of the previous assembly had entirely failed, yet many were desirous of its further trial. In a lucid and eloquent speech, Mr. Ames showed the utter inefficacy of any such measure, and maintained that it was necessary for the citizens to exert their patriotism and patience, to endure those evils which could not be obviated. As a pleader, Mr. Ames early obtained an enviable reputation, but soon he appeared before the public in a new light—as a political essay writer. The war of the revolution left many of the citizens of Massachusetts deeply involved in debt; the public debt too, the weight of which eventually fell upon the citizens, was large, and the taxes in consequence burdensome. Urged on by these circumstances, and encouraged by the weakness of the government, many of the inhabitants of Western Massachusetts, rose up in arms, and under their leader, Shays, threatened destruction to the civil government. In a paper entitled Lucius Junius Brutus, Ames showed, in glowing and forcible language, the evils which would follow, should the authorities yield to the demands of the insurgents; the necessity of energetic measures, on the part of those in authority; and the real weakness of the rebels, were such measures resorted to. After the insurrection had been suppressed, in a series of papers under the head of Camillus he exposed the sources of the late disturbances, and exhibited the means proper to prevent their repetition, and the necessity of altering the constitution so as to strengthen the hands of the federal government. These papers immediately drew upon him the attention of the public; they gave him at once standing in a state fruitful in eminent men, and from the brightness of the beginning, the splendor of his future career was predicted. The federal constitution was an instrument which, either in its formation or in the debates regarding its adoption, called into play nearly all the talents of the union. In the convention called in Massachusetts for its ratification, Ames was a conspicuous member, and his speech on biennial elections, though not the happiest of his efforts, had at the time a great effect, and may still be read with pleasure. After supporting the constitution in the convention, he was called upon by his fellow-citizens to become a member of the government of which it was the basis. Suffolk district, which included the capital of the state, chose him as its first representative to congress. During the eight years of Washington's presidentship, he continued to fill the same station, and throughout was an able and efficient supporter of the administration. The difficulties under which the government labored, were at this

period greater, perhaps, than they have ever been since. The constitution left room for debate on the relative powers of the different branches of the legislature; and precedent, which in such cases takes the place of law, was not yet in existence. The settlement of the differences with Spain and Great Britain; the manner in which the public debt was to be disposed of; the neutrality to be preserved with regard to France; the regulations required by commerce; the system of internal taxation; were all questions of the most important and intricate character, often seriously threatening the peace of the country, and in one instance causing an actual rebellion. On all these questions Mr. Ames displayed the activity and depth of his mind, and on many of them the force of his eloquence. His speeches on Mr. Madison's resolutions, and on the appropriation for the British treaty, are worthy of particular notice. The latter forms an era in his political life. For some time his health had been declining under the influence of the lingering disease which finally put a period to his existence; but the importance of the question and the strength of the opposition determined him, at every hazard, to exert his influence upon the occasion. When he rose he knew not whether his strength would hold out sufficiently long for him to finish the remarks which he intended, but his force increased as he proceeded. The speech abounded in the most high-toned notions of national honor and morality, and in the most earnest appeals to the patriotism and reason of his hearers. During its delivery, a crowded house listened with a silent and earnest attention; and when in conclusion he alluded, in a touching manner, "to his own slender and almost broken hold upon life," the audience was visibly affected. As he took his seat, the question was loudly called for; but the opposition dreaded the effects of a speech so hostile to their views, and one of its members moved that the decision of the question be postponed to the ensuing day, lest they should act under the influence of feelings which their calm judgment might condemn.

At the close of the session, in the spring of 1796, Mr. Ames travelled in Virginia for the improvement of his health. Every where he was received with the respect and attention which his public character demanded, and which his situation rendered necessary. By relaxation, exercise, and the use of the waters of some of the medicinal springs in which that country abounds, his health was much benefited. At this time the college of New Jersey gave a testimony of the general esteem in which he was held, by creating him doctor of laws.

At the next session of congress, he was again able to attend to his

public duties, but the vigor which he formerly brought to business was gone. The brightness of his mind remained undimmed, but disease had impaired the energy necessary for its exhibition. He was at that session, chairman of the committee which prepared the answer to the president's address. After alluding, in a respectful and affectionate manner, to that portion of the speech which declares that he now stood for the last time in their presence, the address concluded, "for your country's sake, for the sake of republican liberty, it is our earnest wish, that your example may be the guide of your successors; and thus, after being the ornament and safeguard of the present age, become the patrimony of our descendants." In the debate which followed he defended with his usual ability the measures of the administration, and vindicated the claims of Washington to the esteem and veneration of his countrymen.

Dr. Ames had previously declined a reëlection; and the session being concluded, he retired to private life, to seek in his native town, and in the bosom of his family, the renewal of health, broken by the toil and hurry of business. In the cultivation of his farm he found both relaxation and exercise; and by resuming the practice of his profession, he endeavored to provide for the wants of his family, and to retrieve a fortune neglected amid the cares of public life. He determined to revise his legal studies, and to make a business of his profession; but his gradually increasing infirmities prevented the execution of his designs. After a few years, he was obliged to renounce altogether the labors of the bar. Though he had retired from office, he could not dismiss politics from his mind: the interest of his country was as dear to him as ever, and he endeavored by his writings so to influence public opinion, as to lead it in the channel he thought most conducive to the general happiness. Abhorring the frantic excesses of the French revolution, he feared the hold which France had upon the sympathies of America; himself an ardent federalist, his acute mind foresaw the approaching downfall of his party, and he dreaded lest his country should fall with it. Whatever opinions may be entertained of the correctness of his party doctrines, time has shown that his fears for the safety of the country were unfounded. The union was too firmly based to be affected by the change of party; may it ever thus continue to disappoint the anxious fears of its supporters! Entertaining the opinions which he did, Ames employed all the strength of his understanding, all the force of his wit, in the support of his party. Even when disease would have deterred another from any exertion whatever, he continued his efforts;

and so long as he could hold his pen, it was employed in warning his countrymen of the dangers with which he believed them threatened. In the year 1800, he accepted a seat in the council of the state; and when Washington died, he was called upon to pronounce his eulogy. Calm and majestic in its march, vivid in its description, it touches upon the great events which most conspicuously manifest the transcendent virtues of the father of his country. There is in it no appeal to the passions, no picture of a great nation mourning the loss of its benefactor; but it holds up its hero as worthy the admiration, the gratitude, the imitation of all future ages. In the year 1804, AMES was chosen president of Harvard college; but, though sensible of the honor which the choice conferred upon him, had his health permitted it, he would not have accepted an office for which he was unfitted by his habits and his education. From the year 1795, the health of Dr. AMES had been gradually declining. Partial intermissions would sometimes rekindle the hopes of his friends, but only again to be extinguished. At length death could no longer be baffled of its prey. For two years he had labored under an exceeding debility: he knew he had not long to live, he was aware of his fate, and he looked upon its approach with calmness. Religion, which had supported him throughout his illness, in his extremity did not deny her aid. His patriotism still burned brightly even on his death-bed, and to the last, his country shared his thoughts with his family. He died on the morning of the 4th of July, 1808. When the news of his death reached Boston, a public meeting was immediately held, to show the sense of the citizens on the loss with which they had met. Appropriate resolutions were passed, his family was requested to bring his remains to Boston to receive a public interment, and one of his early friends, Mr. Dexter, was appointed to deliver a eulogy over them. These testimonials of respect, it is true, are sometimes lavished on the unworthy; but though AMES had long been only a private citizen, his death was felt to be a public loss: his fellow-citizens regretted the untimely end of one who was equally esteemed for his talents and his virtues, to whom they could look at once for precept and for example.

Education in America before the revolution was even less favorable than now, to the cultivation of the highest powers of the human intellect. The country being unprovided with literary institutions possessed of ample endowments, and the great mass of people in moderate circumstances, the young man of talent, before his education is completed, finds it necessary to do something for his own support. Numerous avenues are open to honorable exertion, but literature is

not among them. He sees that it only depends upon himself to obtain an independence; and accustomed to rely upon himself, though in his heart he may aspire after fame, he determines to attend to business. But the hours thus devoted are lost to study and reflection, and the aspirations which he represses in the end become deadened; he loses that thirst for distinction which is the surest means of acquiring it. But his intellect, though it does not reach so lofty a height, becomes more practical; and he brings to public affairs a mind active, persevering, fertile in resources, and ready to grapple with all the details of business. What situation AMES would have occupied in the world of letters had he been differently situated, we cannot now determine; the place which he holds is certainly a high one, but it might undoubtedly have been much higher. He possessed a ready and comprehensive intellect, a vivid imagination, and a sound judgment. As an orator he stands in the first rank. In his speeches nothing is more remarkable than the profusion of images in which they abound. Whether it is to add beauty to a subject, or to render an obscure point so plain as to be palpable to the most common understanding, he is equally happy; simple, picturesque; startling examples may be drawn from his works, of every felicity of allusion. He indeed sometimes uses them too freely: image follows image in rapid succession, and the mind has not fully freed itself from the influence of one comparison, before it is called away to attend to another. Another of his merits is the clearness of his style. Whatever he says can readily be understood. His sentences are in general short, and his words so chosen and placed that his meaning cannot be mistaken. He rarely appeals to the passions of his hearers, he addresses himself to their understandings and their moral feeling; and his style is thus always sustained and elevated. His essays have the same distinguishing excellences as his orations: they are clear, concise, and abound in vivid and beautiful imagery. Most of them were written under unfavorable circumstances: while he was suffering under a lingering and painful disease, or in the intervals of time devoted to other pursuits. Yet he has succeeded in throwing over temporary subjects a lasting interest. The events which called them forth have long passed away; but the style is so beautiful, and they contain so many truths applicable to all ages, that time has not succeeded in depriving them either of their interest or their value. The moral character of AMES was as amiable as his intellectual was elevated. In all the relations of life, as a husband, a father, a friend, he was equally beloved and respected. He took great pleasure in society, and was

fitted to adorn it. It has been said that all his other talents were excelled by his powers of conversation. Here his quick comprehension, his practical knowledge of the world, his fertile fancy, and his ready elocution, all appeared to the greatest advantage, and all were set off by a manner which seemed as if its possessor were unconscious of his own superiority.

In person Dr. Ames was tall and well proportioned, his countenance handsome, and his eyes expressive. In debate his manner was animated, and he readily became excited. This excitement continued after the cause had ceased to operate. "After debate," says president Kirkland, "his mind was agitated like the ocean after a storm, and his nerves were like the shrouds of a ship torn by the tempest." His reasoning was not always logical, but his conclusions were correct. By striking allusions, rather than by regular deductions, he compelled assent.

Dr. Ames made a public profession of religion in the First Congregational church in Dedham. With this church he regularly communed till prevented by illness from attending public worship. His practice corresponded with his profession. His life was regular and irreproachable. Few, who have been placed in similar circumstances, have been less contaminated by the influence of the world. It is doubted, whether any one ever heard him utter an expression, adapted to excite an impious or impure idea. The most scrutinizing eye discovered in him no disguise or hypocrisy. His views of himself, however, were humble and abased. He was often observed to shed tears, while speaking of his closet devotions and experiences. He lamented the coldness of his heart and the wanderings of his thoughts, while addressing his Maker, or meditating on the truths he had revealed. In his last sickness, when he had just expressed his belief of his approaching dissolution, he exhibited resignation to the Divine will, and hope of the favor of God. "I have peace of mind," said he, "I think it is founded on a belief of the gospel." At the same time he disclaimed every idea of meriting salvation, saying, "My hope is in the mercy of God, through Jesus Christ."

Dr. Ames was a great admirer of the common translation of the Bible, and deeply regretted the prevailing disuse of it in our schools. He was accustomed to say, "I will hazard the assertion, that no man ever did, or ever will become truly eloquent, without being a constant reader of the Bible, and an admirer of the purity and sublimity of its language."

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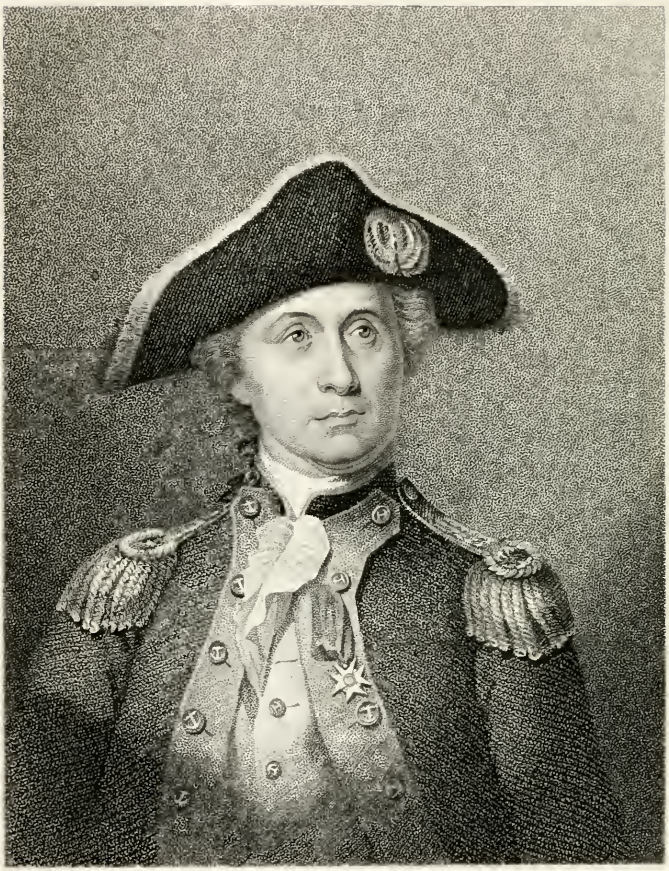

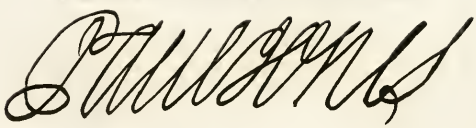

JOHN PAUL JONES.

While ideas of boldness and intrepidity are associated in the minds of most of our countrymen with the name of "*Paul Jones*," they are yet blended in some measure with the qualities which we are apt to ascribe to the character of the reckless adventurer and the bold buccaneer. These impressions are derived from the traditions of enemies, whose pride he mortified in legitimately and victoriously, fighting the battles of America, and from the idle legends which were, for a time, hawked about the country. As he had no relatives on this side of the Atlantic, to protect his fame from mercenary abuse, the current of error had run long without any effort to interrupt it. The mystery, which hung about his reputation, is now, however, yielding to the sober light of truth; and instead of the irregular meteor, which excited our wonder by its transient glare, we behold him, a brilliant and steady star, shining in honor and in glory, conspicuously in the constellation of our revolutionary worthies.

John Paul Jones was born on the 6th of July, 1747, at Arbigland, in the south of Scotland. His father, John Paul, kept a public garden. Our hero was the fifth child. He early evinced a passion for a sailor's life, and, at the age of twelve years, was bound apprentice to a Scotch merchant engaged in the American trade. At the age of nineteen, having been released from his indentures, he became the chief mate of a brig belonging to Whitehaven. The nefarious traffic in human flesh, in which she was soon employed, induced him to abandon her in disgust. He returned to Scotland in 1768, as a passenger in the brig John. On the voyage, the captain and the mate both died of fever, and, there being no one on board so capable of navigating the vessel, Paul was invested with the command, and brought her safely into port. For this well-timed piece of service, he was appointed by the owners to be master and supercargo. He made several voyages in this capacity, when he was transferred to the command of a London ship in the West India trade. In the year 1773, we find him in

Virginia, arranging the estate of an elder brother, William, who had settled at Fredericksburg, and had died there intestate, and without issue. About this period, he added the name *Jones* to his patronymic. The reason for this step has never been known.

A peaceful and quiet life in America, for which country he had, even at an earlier day, shown a decided predilection, would seem, from some of his letters, to have been, at this period, the leading object of his hopes; but the revolutionary spirit which infused itself into so many noble minds, startled him from this dream of repose; and when congress, as early as December 22d, 1775, designated a number of captains and lieutenants for a naval armament in the Delaware, to aid in "the defence of American liberty, and the repelling every hostile invasion thereof," we observe the name of JOHN PAUL JONES at the head of the list of the first class of lieutenants. He was ordered to the Alfred of thirty guns, Commodore Hopkins, on board of which ship at Philadelphia, he himself hoisted the flag of America, being the first time, as he averred, that it was raised on board of a public vessel in commission from the continental congress. The squadron sailed from the Delaware early in 1776, and having visited the Bahama Islands, and captured some cannon at New Providence, returned in the spring. In May, JONES was assigned to the command of the Providence of twelve guns. He made a cruise in her in the summer, and by his vigour and resolution, in the capture and destruction of the enemy's property, gave an earnest of his future distinguished career. In October, 1776, when the grade of naval captains was established by congress, he received a full commission as one of the number. In November, he sailed from Providence, in charge of the Alfred frigate, the Providence brig being also under his orders. With several valuable prizes, including a large ship with soldier's clothing, he arrived at Boston in December.

He had now acquired the entire confidence of the marine committee of congress; and plans for active employment were earnestly discussed. It was not, however, till the autumn of 1777, that another vessel could be equipped. He sailed in the Ranger, of eighteen guns, and proceeded to Brest, where after some negotiation, exhibiting much adroitness on his part, he obtained a salute from the commander of the French fleet. This circumstance is worthy of being mentioned, as the treaty of alliance had not been promulgated, and it was the first notice of the kind which the American flag had received. It would be impossible, within our allotted space, to follow him through all his adventures after leaving Brest. The boldness of his character was,

however, strikingly exhibited in his attempt to fire the shipping of Whitehaven, in the north of England. Wherever he was personally present, success attended his exertions. With a few men, he spiked all the cannon of two of the forts, the sentinels being first secured in their own guard-house. Much of the shipping was burned, and accident alone, at a point distant from him, prevented the annihilation of the whole, amounting to more than two hundred vessels. He justified this, and other similar attacks, upon the principle of retaliation for the destruction of private property by the British troops in America.

Off Carrickfergus, on the southern coast of Scotland, on the 24th of April, 1778, he had an engagement with the British sloop of war Drake, of twenty guns. She had been fitted out with more than her full complement of officers and men, expressly to capture his ship. After a severe, close, and obstinate action of an hour, she was herself compelled to strike her colors. JONES carried his prize in triumph into France.

It was the day before this fight, that he landed at St. Mary's Isle with one boat and a small party, and an affair took place which was subsequently much misrepresented, but which called into action some noble properties in the chief of the expedition. Believing that the capture of the Earl of Selkirk, who resided there, would enable Congress to obtain more equal terms in the exchange of prisoners, his object was to take his lordship on board of the Ranger. The absence of this nobleman defeated the scheme; but the men, remembering the scenes of devastation occasioned by British troops in the United States, and disregarding the restraints of a wholesome discipline, carried away the family plate. It was publicly acknowledged by the earl, that beyond this mere act, no violence or rudeness was committed. JONES transmitted from Brest a communication to the countess, in which, among other things, he informed her of his intention to become the purchaser of the articles when sold, and that he would gratify his own feelings by replacing them, by such conveyance as she should please to direct. This epistle, which was long and somewhat romantic in its style, yet afforded proof that JONES had cultivated to a considerable extent the graces of composition. Dr. Franklin spoke of it as "a gallant letter, which must give her ladyship a high opinion of the writer's generosity and nobleness of mind." It is to be added, to the honor of JONES, that though there were much difficulty and a large expenditure attending it, he yet accomplished his purpose of restoring the plate in its original condition. He received a formal acknowledgment from Lord Selkirk upon the subject.

After his arrival in France from this splendid and heroic cruise, he was doomed to a series of vexations and disappointments, extremely trying to his temper, his fortitude, and his patriotism. The situation of the American commissioners was surrounded by perplexities. With limited authority, and contracted means, they sensibly felt the want of that credit which a public recognition of them by the court of Versailles, could it then have taken place, would at once have conferred. JONES encountered great embarrassment in providing for the maintenance of his crew and the large number of his prisoners, and was compelled to meet the crisis by such expedients as were furnished by his individual resources and address. At one period, his spirits were cheered, and his ambition animated, by a suggestion from his sincere friend, Dr. Franklin, of a prospect of the command of a large ship just built for congress at Amsterdam. This, and some other schemes for efficient and adventurous service, agitated between JONES, Dr. Franklin, and the French minister of marine, were ultimately counteracted by circumstances utterly beyond the enterprising captain's control.

After the most persevering efforts for several months, he obtained, as the best thing which the condition of our affairs abroad allowed, the charge of an old vessel, the *Duc de Duras*. He had been kept waiting in the sea-ports, month after month, in a state of harrassing solicitude, under repeated promises, which the French minister seemed to make only to disappoint him, until at last he proceeded in person to court, when he procured the means of early employment. In allusion to this step, he having authority to give a new name to the ship, called her "Le Bon Homme Richard," in compliment to a saying of Dr. Franklin, in his *Poor Richard*, "If you would have your business done, come yourself; if not, send."

In August, 1779, Commodore JONES put to sea in the Bon Homme Richard, with six other vessels, the whole forming a squadron under his command. After a successful cruise off the coast of Ireland, he sailed with the Pallas, of thirty-two guns, and the Vengeance, of sixteen guns, to the eastern coast of Scotland, and made a daring demonstration upon the town of Leith. He passed up the Frith in sight of Edinburgh, till he was almost within gun-shot of Leith, where there were several armed vessels, when a violent gale of wind came on directly ahead, and notwithstanding the most vigorous and determined efforts, obliged him to bear away and go to sea. JONES had prepared a letter to the town authorities, referring to "the unmanly violation and rapacity that had marked the tracks of British tyranny in America," and demanding "a contribution towards a reimbursement." His plan

was so admirably laid, and so ably prosecuted, that nothing but the overwhelming force of the elements could have defeated it.

A few days after this attempt, the celebrated battle between the Bon Homme Richard and the British frigate Serapis was fought. On the 23d of September, 1779, about seven o'clock in a clear moon light evening, JONES met the enemy off Flamborough-head, on the north-east of England, in the view of hundreds of the inhabitants of the neighboring coast. The Serapis was a new ship of forty-four guns, with a picked crew. She was vastly superior to the American ship, in her model, size, and strength, in the extent of her batteries, in weight of metal, and in the number, quality, and discipline of her men. When within half pistol shot, the enemy hailed JONES, who answered with a whole broadside. The action raged with incessant fury, till the enemy's bowsprit coming over the Bon Homme Richard's poop by the mizenmast, JONES, with his own hand, seized the ropes that hung from the enemy's bowsprit, and made them fast to his own ship. The Serapis swung round, so that the ships lay square along side of each other, the stern of the enemy close to the bow of the Bon Homme Richard. In this situation the combat was continued for some hours, with a spirit of determined bravery on both sides that seemed to threaten mutual extermination. At length the mainmast of the Serapis began to shake, and her firing to decrease. The Americans fought with renewed vigor. As his mainmast went by the board, the enemy struck his colors at about half past ten o'clock.

Some of the incidents of this engagement have been necessarily incorporated in our sketch of the life of Commodore Dale, who was JONES's first lieutenant, and most nobly and heroically sustained his commander in this desperate conflict, as upon other memorable occasions. Lieutenant Dale asked for and obtained leave to board the prize. He found Captain Pearson and his first lieutenant on the quarterdeck. The English lieutenant supposed the Bon Homme Richard had struck, but being soon undeceived on this point, was sent with his captain on board the victorious ship.

The loss of each party in killed and wounded was extremely heavy, The Bon Homme Richard was so much damaged, that it was deemed unsafe to risk the experiment of carrying her into port. Her crew were transferred to the captured vessel, which in a few days arrived at the Texel. The Bon Homme Richard sunk the day after the contest.

When the Serapis was first seen, she and the Countess of Scarborough, a twenty-gun ship, had under convoy a large fleet of merchantmen from the Baltic. During the action between the Serapis and the

Bon Homme Richard, the Pallas engaged the Countess of Scarborough, at a considerable distance from them, and after an action of an hour, captured her. The frigate Alliance had parted from JONES off the coast of Ireland. Captain Landais, her commander, had before this occasioned JONES much trouble and mortification. Whether his bad conduct proceeded from insanity, or from a combination of eccentricity, vanity, jealousy, and avarice, are points of little importance at this period. On the day of the battle, he had joined the squadron, but paid no regard to the signals of the commodore. He kept out of the way, until a short time before the Serapis struck her flag, when there being no possibility of mistaking the ships, he approached and poured a full broadside into the stern of the Bon Homme Richard. He then passed round her, firing into her head, broadside and stern, and killing several of her men. It was afterwards fully proved, that Landais had previously declared it to be his object, to compel the Bon Homme Richard to strike to the enemy, so that he could retake her, and capture the Serapis.

The enterprise, skill, and bravery, which had marked the recent course of JONES, attracted the attention of Europe and America. England was incensed at the boldness of his operations, carried on directly under her own eyes, and was mortified at his splendid successes. The British minister at the Hague, in a particular manner, and a large portion of the newspaper press in Britain, labored hard to suppress his growing reputation, by coarsely but vainly endeavoring to brand him with the epithets of rebel, renegade, and pirate; while France and the United States, recognising him as the lawfully commissioned officer of congress, and the legitimate champion of American independence, loudly rejoiced in the nobleness of his conquests, and in the blaze of his renown.

He soon left the Texel in the Alliance frigate. After a display of daring seamanship, taunting the British fleet in the North Sea, passing through the Straits of Dover, and afterwards by the Isle of Wight, in view of large naval forces of the enemy; he made a visit to Spain, and having protected some American vessels bound to Bordeaux, arrived at L'Orient in March, 1780. He proceeded to Paris. During his absence, Landais, backed by some of our public functionaries abroad, who were hostile to JONES, managed, by an intrigue which JONES could not at the moment defeat, to regain the temporary command of the Alliance. It may be proper here to remark, that Landais was afterwards tried for his repeated misconduct, and dismissed from the service. The general belief in his insanity saved him from a severer punishment.

Jones was treated with flattering consideration by the most distinguished persons in Paris. He was favored by the king with a tender of the cross of military merit, and received from his Majesty a present of a magnificent gold mounted sword, bearing this inscription: Maris Ludovicus XVI. Remunerator Strenuo Vindici.

He returned to America in the ship Ariel of twenty guns. He encountered a violent storm off the coast of France, of which he speaks in several of his letters. In one of them he says: "I believe no vessel was ever saved from an equal danger off Penmarque rocks." After putting into L'Orient under jury-masts to refit, he sailed again, and had a brief but brilliant engagement with the British armed ship Triumph, of twenty guns, which terminated in the surrender of the enemy. After begging for and obtaining quarter, the British captain availed himself of a favorable breeze, and while the crew of the Ariel were exulting in their victory, filled his sails, and bore away. As the Englishman had greatly the advantage in sailing, Jones could not hinder his escape. This conduct was a gross violation of the laws of naval war, and of the usages of civilized nations.

Commodore Jones arrived in Philadelphia in February, 1781, after an absence from the United States of more than three years. His reception was most gratifying to his ambition and his pride. Congress immediately adopted the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the congress entertain a high sense of the distinguished bravery and military conduct of John Paul Jones, Esquire, captain in the navy of the United States, and particularly in his victory over the British frigate Serapis on the coast of England, which was attended with circumstances so brilliant as to excite general applause and admiration.

"*Resolved*, That the minister plenipotentiary of these United States communicate to his Most Christian Majesty, the high satisfaction congress has received from the conduct and gallant behaviour of Captain John Paul Jones, which have merited the attention and approbation of his Most Christian Majesty; and that his majesty's offer of adorning Captain Jones with a cross of military merit, is highly acceptable to congress."

The French minister, at a fête given by him in honor of Jones, accordingly invested him, in the name of his majesty, with the superior military order just mentioned.

The board of admiralty instituted a searching inquiry into the whole of Jones's transactions abroad. The board pronounced an opinion, "That ever since he first became an officer in the navy of these states,

he hath shown an unremitted attention in planning and executing enterprises calculated to promote the essential interests of our glorious cause;" and further, "That his conduct merited some distinguished mark of approbation from the United States in congress assembled." On the 14th of April it was, by congress, "*Resolved*, That the thanks of the United States in congress assembled be given to Captain JOHN PAUL JONES, for the zeal, prudence, and intrepidity, with which he has supported the honor of the American flag; for his bold and successful enterprises to redeem from captivity the citizens of the states, who have fallen under the power of the enemy; and in general, for the good conduct and eminent services by which he has added lustre to his character, and to the American arms."

He was assigned to the charge of the America of seventy-four guns, about to be launched at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Great delay occurred in getting her ready for sea, notwithstanding his personal attention. The capture of the army under Lord Cornwallis in the course of this year, rendered it unnecessary to employ her at once. She was afterwards presented by congress to France, to supply the loss, in the harbor of Boston, of a seventy-four gun-ship belonging to the French squadron. With a view to enlarge the sphere of his professional knowledge, he procured the consent of congress to join the French fleet on a projected expedition against Jamaica. He was received on board of the Triumphante, Vice Admiral the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and reached the West Indies, when the news of the general peace occasioned his return to Philadelphia.

Having been appointed by congress agent for all prizes taken in Europe by vessels under his orders, he proceeded to France. After a negotiation of two years' duration, he obtained a liquidation and payment of the amount due there to himself, his officers, and men. He now prepared a journal of his past career, and presented a copy to the King.

He made a short visit to the United States in the year 1787; and after some further investigation of his accounts, congress conferred upon him a transcendent honor, by resolving on the 11th of October, "That a *medal of gold* be struck and presented to the Chevalier PAUL JONES, in commemoration of the valor and brilliant services of that officer; and that the Hon. Mr. Jefferson, minister plenipotentiary of the United States at the court of Versailles, have the same executed, with the proper devices."

In December he returned to Europe. He was intrusted with the settlement of some disputed points in regard to certain prizes which

had been sent into Denmark, and, after much energetic exertion, accomplished the object of his mission. While at Copenhagen in 1788, he had an offer through the Russian minister, which demonstrated the height to which his naval reputation had reached throughout Europe. The empress desired to secure his talents in an important command, against the Turks, in the Black Sea. With a stipulation that he was never to renounce the title of an American citizen, nor to be employed against France, he received from the czarina the appointment of rear admiral.

We have now given a very general and imperfect delineation,—a mere outline,—of his most prominent and obvious achievements in the glorious cause of American liberty. We have been obliged, by our contracted limits, to omit even an abridged account of his various negotiations, and his extensive correspondence. As our business is principally with him as an officer of our own country, we cannot enter into a detail of his conduct as an officer in a foreign navy. It may be enough to remark, that after displaying his great abilities in performing much effective and hazardous duty in the Liman, under the temporary influence of the warm approbation of the empress, it was his misfortune, by the freedom of his correspondence, to arouse the deep displeasure of the pampered and powerful favorite, Potemkin. As this prince was the only medium through which the rays of imperial sunshine were distributed, the rear admiral was withdrawn from the theatre of his activity, with a delusive intimation of employment in the North Sea. How much the jealousy and envy of Russians and Englishmen, who were officers in the same fleet, contributed to this result, it would be useless to inquire. The promise of another squadron was never redeemed. Though he subsequently received the ceremonious notice of her majesty, yet the frankness and sincerity which marked his deportment, prevented him from ever recovering the elevated ground which he had occupied at the court of St. Petersburgh.

He passed the rest of his life in Europe. After a year of ill health, he died at Paris on the 18th of July, 1792, aged forty-five years. The government of the United States had not forgotten him. President Washington designated him for the important trust of treating with the Dey of Algiers on the subjects of peace and the ransom of American captives. His credentials reached Paris after he had paid the debt of nature.

If Jones had some enemies among the Americans abroad, it is due to his memory to record, that the most conspicuous of them were ranked among his admirers, when his motives and actions became

thoroughly understood. If the prëeminent favor with which he was noticed at foreign courts quickened the animosity of courtiers, who imagined their consequence to be injuriously affected by his exaltation, he had the proud satisfaction of realizing in the United States, the friendship of many of the first citizens; and of enjoying, in Europe, the unbounded esteem and ready assistance of such men as Franklin, Jefferson, and Lafayette.

To attribute to him the ordinary properties of heroism, would be but a small part of his praise. He had not merely the nerve to execute the most daring exploits, but the genius to conceive and plan the grandest schemes, whether of adventure for himself, or of benefit to his country. Had his means as an American captain been commensurate with his aspirations, in reference to personal distinction and national advantage, he would unquestionably have extended the high reputation which he won in the charge of a comparatively small force, until it rivalled the celebrity of the chiefs most renowned in the history of enlarged naval warfare.

His personal character was at times the object of much envenomed slander; but it came out of the ordeal to which it was repeatedly exposed, refined and brightened by collision. That he was irritable in his temper, and not always controlled by the dictates of sound discretion, may be admitted; but his share of the infirmities incident to humanity, carried with it at least a correspondent portion of the crosses and disappointments of life; and those who knew him best bear testimony to the liberality of his disposition, the uprightness of his purposes, and the purity of his honor.

Such men were required by our country in the time of her utmost need. Had higher rewards and honors than she conferred been at her command, they would have been bestowed. She treated him as one of those illustrious men, whom she regarded as having rendered the most eminent and enduring service; and his vindicated fame will live as long as her revolutionary story shall exist in the records, or dwell in the memory of mankind.

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Daniel Murray

DAVID RAMSAY, M. D.

David Ramsay* was born in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, on the 2d day of April, 1749. He was the youngest child of James Ramsay, a respectable farmer, who had emigrated from Ireland at an early age, and by the cultivation of his farm, with his own hands, provided the means of subsistence and education for a numerous family. He was a man of intelligence and piety, and early sowed the seeds of knowledge and religion in the minds of his children. He lived to reap the fruit of his labors, and to see his offspring grow up around him, ornaments of society, and props of his declining years.

The early impressions which the care of this excellent parent made on the mind of Dr. Ramsay, were never erased. He had the misfortune to lose an amiable and excellent mother very early in life; but that loss was in some measure repaired by his father, who took uncommon pains to give him the best education that could be then obtained in this country. He was, from his infancy, remarkable for his attachment to books, and for the rapid progress he made in acquiring knowledge. At six years of age, he read the Bible with facility, and, it is said, was peculiarly delighted with the historical parts of it. When placed at a grammar school, his progress was very remarkable. It was no uncommon thing, says a gentleman who knew him intimately at that time, to see students who had almost arrived at manhood, taking the child upon their knees, in order to obtain his assistance in the construction and explanation of difficult passages in their lessons. Before he was twelve years of age, he had read, more than once, all the classics usually studied at grammar schools, and was, in every respect, qualified for admission into college;

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* The author of this article having prepared and published in the Analectic Magazine a memoir of Dr. Ramsay shortly after his death, which was prefixed to his History of the United States, deems no apology necessary for drawing his materials from that source.

but being thought too young for collegiate studies, he accepted the place of assistant tutor in a reputable academy in Carlisle, and, notwithstanding his tender years, acquitted himself to the admiration of every one. He continued upwards of a year in this situation, and then went to Princeton. On his examination, he was found qualified for admission into the junior class; but, in consequence of his extreme youth, the faculty advised him to enter as a sophomore, which he did; and having passed through college with high reputation, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, in the year 1765, being then only sixteen years of age.

Having completed the usual college course at sixteen, he was enabled to devote some time to the general cultivation of his mind, before he commenced the study of physic; and he spent nearly two years in Maryland, as a private tutor in a respectable family, devoting himself to books, and enriching his mind with stores of useful knowledge.

He then commenced the study of physic, under the direction of Dr. Bond, in Philadelphia, where he regularly attended the lectures delivered at the college of Pennsylvania, the parent of that celebrated medical school which has since become so distinguished. Dr. Rush was then professor of chemistry in that college: and this led to a friendship between Dr. Rush, the able and accomplished master, and Ramsay, the ready, ingenious, and attentive student, that was fondly cherished by both, and continued to strengthen and increase to the latest moment of their lives. For Dr. Rush young Ramsay felt a filial affection; he regarded him as a benefactor, while he entertained the highest veneration for his talents. He never had any hesitation in declaring himself an advocate of the principles introduced by Dr. Rush in the theory and practice of medicine; and in his eulogium on Dr. Rush, a last public tribute of respect to the memory of his lamented friend, he declares, that "his own experience had been uniformly in their favor, ever since they were first promulgated;" and adds a declaration, that, in his "opinion, Dr. Rush had done more to improve the theory and practice of medicine than any one physician, either living or dead." Dr. Ramsay was graduated Bachelor of Physic—a degree at that time uniformly conferred—early in the year 1772, and immediately commenced the practice of physic, at the "*Head of the Bohemia*," in Maryland, where he continued to practise with much reputation for about a year, when he removed to Charleston. Dr. Rush, in a letter written September 15, 1773, after stating that he would recommend Dr. Ramsay to fill the opening

which then existed in Charleston, thus proceeds: "Dr. RAMSAY studied physic regularly with Dr. Bond, attended the hospital and public lectures of medicine, and afterwards graduated Bachelor of Physic, with great eclat. It is saying but little of him to tell you, that he is far superior to any person we ever graduated at our college: his abilities are not only good, but great; his talents and knowledge, universal. I never saw so much strength of memory and imagination, united to so fine a judgment. His manners are polished and agreeable, his conversation lively, and his behaviour, to all men, always without offence. Joined to all these, he is sound in his principles; strict, nay more, severe in his morals; and attached, not by education only, but by principle, to the dissenting interest. He will be an acquisition to your society. He writes, talks, and—what is more—lives well. I can promise more for him, in every thing, than I could for myself."

Such was the character of Dr. RAMSAY, at the commmencement of his career in life.

On settling in Charleston, he rapidly rose to eminence in his profession and general respect. His talents, his habits of business, and uncommon industry, eminently qualified him for an active part in public affairs, and induced his fellow-citizens to call upon him, on all occasions, when any thing was to be done for the common welfare. In our revolutionary struggle he was a decided and active whig, and was one of the earliest and most zealous advocates of American independence.

On the 4th of July, 1778, he was appointed to deliver an oration before the inhabitants of Charleston. In this oration, the first ever delivered in the United States on the anniversary of American independence, he boldly declares, that "our present form of government is every way preferable to the royal one we have lately renounced." In establishing this position, he takes a glowing view of the natural tendency of republican forms of government, to promote knowledge; to call into exercise the active energies of the human soul; to bring forward modest merit; to destroy luxury, and establish simplicity, in the manners and habits of the people; and, finally, to promote the cause of virtue and religion.

In every period of the war, Dr. RAMSAY wrote and spoke boldly and constantly; and, by his personal exertions in the legislature and in the field, was very serviceable to the cause of American liberty. The fugitive pieces written by him, from the commencement of that struggle, were not thought by himself of sufficient importance to be

preserved; yet it is well known to his contemporaries, that on political topics no man wrote more or better than Dr. Ramsay, in all the public journals of the day.

For a short period, he was with the army as a surgeon, and he was present with the Charleston ancient battalion of artillery, at the siege of Savannah.

From the declaration of independence, to the termination of the war, he was a member of the legislature of South Carolina. For two years, he had the honor of being one of the privy council; and, with two others of that body, was among those citizens of Charleston who were banished by the British authorities to St. Augustine.

In consequence of an exchange of prisoners, Dr. Ramsay was sent back to the United States, after an absence of eleven months. He immediately took his seat, as a member of the state legislature, then convened at Jacksonborough. It was at this assembly that the various acts, confiscating the estates of the adherents to Great Britain, were passed. Dr. Ramsay being conciliatory in his disposition, tolerant and humane in his principles, and the friend of peace, although he well knew that the conduct of some of those who fell under the operation of these laws merited all the severity that could be used toward them; yet he remembered, also, that many others were acting from the honest dictates of conscience. He could not, therefore, approve of the confiscation acts, and he opposed them in every shape. Dr. Ramsay continued to possess the undiminished confidence of his fellow-citizens, and was, in February, 1782, elected a member of the continental congress. In this body he was always conspicuous, and particularly exerted himself in procuring relief for the southern states, then overrun by the enemy. On the peace, he returned to Charleston, and recommenced the practice of his profession; but he was not permitted long to remain in private life, and, in 1785, was again elected a member of congress from Charleston district. The celebrated John Hancock had been chosen president of that body, but being unable to attend from indisposition, Dr. Ramsay was elected president *pro tempore*, and continued, for a whole year, to discharge the important duties of that station, with much ability, industry, and impartiality. In 1786, he again returned to Charleston, and reëntered the walks of private life. In the state legislature, and in the continental congress, Dr. Ramsay was useful and influential. He was a remarkably fluent, rapid, and ready speaker; and though his manner was ungraceful, though he neglected all ornament, and never addressed himself to the imagination or the passions of his

audience, yet his style was so simple and pure, his reasoning so cogent, his remarks so striking and original, and his conclusions resulted so clearly from his premises, that he seldom failed to convince.

He was so ready to impart to others his extensive knowledge on all subjects, that whenever consultation became necessary, his opinion and advice were looked for as a matter of course, and it was always given with great brevity and perspicuity. Thus he became the most active member of every association, public or private, to which he was attached.

In general politics, he was thoroughly and truly a republican. Through the course of a long life, his principles suffered no change — he died in those of his youth. With mere party politics he had little to do. Always disposed to believe his opponents to be the friends of their country, he endeavored, by his language and example, to allay party feeling, and to teach all his fellow-citizens to regard themselves as members of the same great family.

Through the whole course of his life, he was assiduous in the practice of his profession. Whenever his services were required, he never hesitated to render them promptly, at every sacrifice of personal convenience and safety. In his medical principles, he was a rigid disciple of Rush, and his practice was remarkably bold. Instead of endeavoring to overcome diseases by repeated efforts, it was his aim to subdue them at once, by a single vigorous remedy. This mode of practice is probably well adapted to southern latitudes, where disease is so sudden in its approach, and so rapid in its effects. In the treatment of the yellow fever, Dr. Ramsay is said to have been uncommonly successful: and it is well known that he effected several remarkable cures, in cases of wounds received from poisonous animals. Those who knew him best, and had the experience of his services in their families for forty-two years, entertained the most exalted opinion of his professional merits.

His widely-extended reputation naturally induced many strangers who visited Charleston, in search of health, to place themselves under his care; and they always found in him the hospitable friend, as well as the attentive physician.

We proceed to consider Dr. Ramsay as an author. It is in this character he is best known and most distinguished. His reputation was not only well established in every part of the United States, but had extended to Europe. Few men in America have written more, and perhaps no one has written better. The citizens of the United

States have long regarded him as the father of history in the New World; and he has always been ranked among those on whom America must depend for her literary character. He was admirably calculated by nature, education, and habit, to become the historian of his country. He possessed a memory so tenacious, that an impression once made on it could never be erased. The minutest circumstances of his early youth, facts and dates relative to every incident of his own life, and all public events, were indelibly engraven on his memory. He was, in truth, a living chronicle.

His learning and uncommon industry eminently fitted him for the pursuits of an historian. He was above prejudice, and absolute master of passion. "I declare," says he, in the introduction to his first work, "that, embracing every opportunity of obtaining genuine information, I have sought for truth, and have asserted nothing but what I believe to be fact. If I should be mistaken, I will, on conviction, willingly retract it. During the whole course of my writing, I have carefully watched the workings of my mind, lest passion, prejudice, or a party feeling, should warp my judgment. I have endeavored to impress on myself, how much more honorable it is to write impartially, for the good of posterity, than to condescend to be the apologist of a party. Notwithstanding this care to guard against partiality, I expect to be charged with it by both of the late contending parties. The suffering Americans, who have seen and felt the ravages and oppressions of the British army, will accuse me of too great moderation. Europeans, who have heard much of American cowardice, perfidy, and ingratitude, and more of British honor, clemency, and moderation, will probably condemn my work, as the offspring of party zeal. I shall decline the fruitless attempt of aiming to please either, and, instead thereof, follow the attractions of truth, whithersoever she may lead." From these resolutions the historian never departed.

From the beginning to the close of the war, Dr. Ramsay was carefully collecting materials for this work. After it was completed, it was submitted to the perusal of General Greene, who having given his assent to all the statements made therein, the History of the Revolution in South Carolina was published in 1785. Its reputation soon spread throughout the United States, and it was translated into French, and read with great avidity in Europe.

It was ever the wish of Dr. Ramsay to render lasting services to his country; and, being well aware that a general history of the revolution would be more extensively useful than a work confined to the transactions of a particular state, want of materials alone prevented

him, in the first instance, from undertaking the former, in preference to the latter. When, therefore, in the year 1785, he took his seat in congress, finding himself associated with many of the most distinguished heroes and statesmen of the revolution, and having free access to all the public records and documents that could throw light on the events of the war, he immediately commenced the History of the American Revolution. Notwithstanding his public duties, he found time sufficient to collect from the public offices, and from every living source, the materials for this valuable work. With Dr. Franklin and Dr. Witherspoon, both of them his intimate friends, he conferred freely, and gained much valuable information from them. Anxious to obtain every important fact, he also visited General Washington, at Mount Vernon, and was readily furnished by him with all the information required, relative to the events in which that great man had been the chief actor. Dr. Ramsay thus possessed greater facilities for procuring materials for the History of the Revolution, than any other individual of the United States. He had been an eye-witness of many of its events, and was a conspicuous actor in its busy scenes. He was the friend of Washington, Franklin, Witherspoon, and a host of others, who were intimately acquainted with all the events of the war; and it may be said, with perfect truth, that no writer was ever more industrious in collecting facts, or more honest in relating them. The History of the American Revolution was published in 1790, and was received with universal approbation. It is not necessary to analyze the character of a work that has stood the test of public opinion, and passed through the crucible of criticism.

In 1801, Dr. Ramsay gave to the world his Life of Washington; as fine a piece of biography as can be found in any language. It will not suffer in comparison with the best productions of ancient or modern times. Indeed, our biographer had one great advantage over all others—we mean the exalted and unrivalled character of our hero—a character "above all Greek, above all Roman fame."

In 1808, Dr. Ramsay published his History of South Carolina, in two volumes, octavo. He had, in 1796, published an interesting "Sketch of the soil, climate, weather, and diseases of South Carolina;" and this probably suggested the idea of a more minute history of the state. No pains were spared, to make this work valuable and useful. The author was himself well acquainted with many of the facts he has recorded; and, by the means of circular letters, addressed to intelligent gentlemen, in every part of the state, the most correct

information was obtained. Many important facts are thus preserved, that must otherwise have been soon forgotten; and by this publication, the author fully supported the reputation he had so justly acquired. The death of his wife, in 1811, induced him to publish, a short time afterwards, the memoirs of her life. This interesting little volume, which, in addition to the life of Mrs. Ramsay, contains some of the productions of her own pen, is very generally read, and has been extensively useful.

In addition to the works already mentioned, Dr. RAMSAY published "An Oration on the acquisition of Louisiana;" "A Review of the improvements, progress, and state of medicine in the eighteenth century," delivered on the first day of the new century; "A Medical Register, for the year 1802;" "A Dissertation on the means of preserving health in Charleston;" "A Biographical Chart, on a new plan, to facilitate the study of History;" and a "Eulogium on Dr. Rush." All these works have merit, in their several departments; particularly the Review of the Eighteenth Century, which contains perhaps as much medical information, in a small space, as can be found in any production of the kind. He had also committed to the press, a short time previous to his death, "A Brief History of the Independent or Congregational Church in Charleston." To this church he had, from his youth, been strongly attached, and this little history was meant as a tribute of affection.

The increasing demand for the History of the American Revolution induced the author, several years before his death, to resolve to publish an improved edition of that work. In preparing this, it occurred to him, that a history of the United States, from their first settlement, as English colonies, including as much of the revolution as is important to be known, brought down to the present day, would be more interesting to the public, as well as more extensively useful. After completing this, up to the year 1808, he determined to publish it in connection with his Universal History, hereafter to be mentioned. Had not death arrested his progress, he would have brought down this work to the end of the late war.

But the last and greatest work of the American historian yet remains to be mentioned. He had, for upwards of forty years, been preparing for the press a series of historical volumes, which, when finished, were to bear the title of "Universal History Americanised, or a Historical View of the World, from the earliest records to the nineteenth century, with a particular reference to the state of society, literature religion, and form of government in the United States of

America."* The mind of Dr. Ramsay was perpetually grasping after knowledge, and the idea, so well expressed by Sir William Jones, "that it would be happy for us if all great works were reduced to their quintessence," had often occurred to his mind. It was a circumstance deeply lamented by him, that knowledge, the food of the soul, should be, in such a great measure, confined to literary and professional men; and he has often declared, that if men of business would only employ one hour in every twenty-four in the cultivation of the mind, they would become well informed on all subjects. It had also forcibly suggested itself to his mind, that all of the histories that had been written, were chiefly designed for the benefit of the Old World, while America passed almost unnoticed, and was treated as unimportant in the scale of nations. With a view, therefore, of reducing all valuable historical facts within a small compass, to form a digest for the use of those whose leisure would not admit of more extensive reading, this great work was undertaken.

The labor of such an undertaking must have been great indeed; and when we remember the other numerous works which occupied the attention of the author, and the interruptions to which he was constantly exposed from professional avocations, we are at a loss to conceive how he found time for such various employments. But it has been truly said of him, that "no miser was ever so precious of his gold as he was of his time;" he was not merely economical, but parsimonious of it to the highest degree. From those avocations which occupy so great a proportion of the lives of ordinary men, Dr. Ramsay subtracted as much as possible. He never allowed for the table, for recreation, or repose, a single moment that was not absolutely necessary for the preservation of his health. His habits were those of the strictest temperance. He usually slept four hours, rose before the light, and meditated with his book in his hand, until he could see to read. He had no relish for the pleasures of the table. He always ate what was set before him; and, having snatched his hasty meal, returned to his labors. His evenings, only, were allotted to recreation. He never read by the light of a candle: with the first shades of the evening, he laid aside his book and his pen, and, surrounded by his family and friends, gave loose to those

* This work has been published since his death, by Carey and Lea, in nine volumes, in connection with his History of the United States, in three more, making in all twelve volumes.

paternal and social feelings, which ever dwell in the bosom of the good man.

The great merit of Dr. Ramsay as a writer is now generally acknowledged. We are sure that we but imbody the opinion of literary men in this country when we say, that as an historian, Ramsay is faithful, judicious, and impartial; that his style is classical and chaste; and, if occasionally tinctured by originality of idea, or singularity of expression, it is perfectly free from affected obscurity or labored ornament. Its energy of thought is tempered by its simplicity and beauty of style.

His remarks on the nature of man, and various other topics, which incidentally present themselves, display much observation, and extensive information. His style is admirably calculated for history. Modern histories are so full of ornament, that, in the blaze of eloquence, simple facts are lost sight of, and the pages of the professed historian frequently contain little more than profound observations on human life and political institutions.

It was the opinion of Dr. Ramsay, "that an historian should be an impartial recorder of past events for the information of after ages;" and by this opinion he was always governed. History, that gives us the experience of a thousand years in one day, loses half its value, when it ceases to be a simple record of past events.

The reputation of Dr. Ramsay throughout the United States is, perhaps, the best criterion of his merits as a writer; and still the value of his works, and particularly of his histories of the revolution, can scarcely be said to be properly appreciated by the public.

We have considered the character of Dr. Ramsay as a physician, a statesman, and an historian; let us now briefly recount his virtues as a man.

The mind of David Ramsay was cast in no common mould—his virtues were of no ordinary stamp. Not that his acquirements were unequalled, or his virtues supereminent; but these virtues and acquirements were so combined as to constitute a strong and almost original character. Dr. Ramsay was distinguished for philanthropy, enterprise, industry, and perseverance. It was his habit to regard himself only as a member of the great human family; and his whole life was devoted to the formation and prosecution of plans for the good of others: he rejoiced far more sincerely at the success of measures for ameliorating the condition of mankind, than at those which resulted in his own immediate benefit. He was alike regardless of wealth, and free from ambition: and his active philanthropy only,

made him an author. His active mind was ever devising means for the improvement of the moral, social, intellectual, and physical state of his beloved country. He was an enthusiast in every thing which tended to promote these darling objects. To carry the benefits of education into every family; to introduce the Bible, and extend the blessings of Christianity, to the most sequestered parts of the American continent; and to bring commerce, by means of central navigation. to every door, were his favorite objects; to the full accomplishment of which, he looked forward with the most ardent expectation: and he unceasingly devoted his talents and influence to their promotion.

Want of judgment in the affairs of the world was the weak point of his character. In common with most eminent literary men, he had studied human nature more from books than actual observation, and had derived his knowledge of the world from speculation, rather than actual experience. Hence resulted a want of that sober judgment, and correct estimate of men and things, so essentially necessary to success in worldly pursuits. This was the great defect in his mind; and, as if to show the fatal effects of a single error, this alone frustrated almost all his schemes, and, through the whole course of a long and useful life, involved him in perpetual difficulties and embarrassments, from which he was never able to extricate himself. Judging of others from the upright intentions of his own heart, he frequently became the dupe of the designing and fraudulent. His philanthropy constantly urged him to the adoption of plans of extensive utility; his enterprise led him to select those most difficult to accomplish; and his perseverance never permitted him to abandon what he had once undertaken. Hence, yielding to visionary schemes, and pursuing them with unflagging ardor, he seldom abandoned them until too late to retrieve what had been lost. What he planned for others he was always ready to support by his tongue, his pen, and his purse. Among numerous examples of this disposition which might be found in the life of Dr. Ramsay, it will be sufficient to mention the zeal and perseverance with which he proposed and urged the formation of a company for the establishment of the Santee canal in South Carolina, a work of great public utility, but attended by the most ruinous consequences to the individuals who supported it. As he was the first to propose, he was the very last to abandon the expectation of immense profits from this work; and by this single enterprise he sustained a loss of thirty thousand dollars. But whatever were his errors, no man was governed by purer motives, or more upright intentions. Long will the loss of his talents, activity,

and perseverance, be felt by the community in which he lived, and the various public institutions to which he belonged.

In society he was a most agreeable companion; his memory was stored with an infinite fund of interesting or amusing anecdotes, which gave great sprightliness and zest to his conversation. He never assumed any superiority over those with whom he conversed, and always took peculiar pleasure in the society of young men of intelligence or piety.

Dr. Ramsay had studied the Bible with the greatest care. He believed its doctrines, and practised its precepts. His religious views and opinions evinced a pious, liberal, and independent mind. They were formed from the sacred volume, unfettered by any prejudice of education, or over attachment to sect or denomination. He saw in the Scriptures a religion truly divine, and clearly discerned a wide and essential difference between the scheme there revealed, and the best system of religion or of ethics which unaided human reason had ever framed. On all the grand and peculiar doctrines of the gospel, his mind felt no hesitation, and underwent no change. But for the minor doctrines of the gospel, the rites, forms, ceremonies, and external administrations of the church, though he was far from deeming them unimportant, yet he could not exclude from the charity of his heart any individual, or any church, in which he discovered the radical principles of Christianity. He believed that most sects concurred in the essential doctrines of salvation: and no man could be more disposed to acknowledge as "brethren in Christ," all "who did the will of their heavenly Father."

His principles influenced all his actions. In every situation he preserved the most unruffled equanimity. He was a firm believer in the doctrine of the particular providence of God; and hence, in a great measure, resulted his composure. Events that would extremely disconcert almost any other man, scarcely moved him at all. Those who witnessed his behaviour under some of the severest trials of life, must be convinced that the sentiment, that "God does all things well," was deeply engraven on his heart. His life was a chequered scene, and presented frequent opportunities for the exercise of his principles. No man ever began life with fairer prospects; not a cloud was to be seen in his horizon. Possessed of talents, reputation, fortune, and friends, he bade fair to pass his days in the sunshine of prosperity, and to have his evening gilded by the beams of happiness. But misfortune overtook him, and he was stripped of all his comforts. In old age, when the weary soul seeks repose, calamity came upon

him, and was the constant inmate of his house. A son, grown to manhood, who promised fair to imitate his father's virtues, was suddenly cut down. A tender and excellent wife, the mother of his eight surviving children, was torn from his embrace, and consigned to the tomb.

These calamities might well have "brought down his gray hairs with sorrow to the grave:" but, amidst the troubled waters of affliction, he stood like a rock; and, though their waves broke over him, he was firm and immoveable.

As a husband, as a father, and in every domestic relation of life, he was alike exemplary. The closing scene of Dr. RAMSAY'S life was alone wanting to put a seal to his character. He fell by the hand of an assassin, whom he had never wronged, but whom, on the contrary, he had humanely endeavored to serve. If harmlessness of manners, suavity of temper, and peaceableness of deportment—if a heart glowing with benevolence, and a disposition to do good to all men, are characteristics that would promise to any one security, he had not, on all these grounds, the least cause to apprehend or guard against hostility. The fatal wound was received in the open street, and at noon-day, under circumstances of horror calculated to appal the stoutest heart; yet the unfortunate victim was calm and self-possessed.*

Having been carried home, and being surrounded by a crowd of anxious citizens, after first calling their attention to what he was about to utter, he said, "I know not if these wounds be mortal. I am not afraid to die; but should that be my fate, I call on all here present to bear witness, that I consider the unfortunate perpetrator of this deed a lunatic, and free from guilt." During the two days that he lingered

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* The history of this mournful transaction is this. A man by the name of William Linnen, a tailor by trade, having been for some crime thrown into prison, it was on his trial represented to the court, that he was under the influence of mental derangement. Dr. RAMSAY and Dr. Benjamin Simons were appointed by the court to examine and report on his case. They concurred in opinion, that Linnen was deranged, and that it would be dangerous to let him go at large. He was therefore remanded to prison, where he was confined, until exhibiting symptoms of returning sanity he was discharged. He behaved himself peaceably for some time; but was heard to declare, that he would "kill the doctors who had joined in the conspiracy against him." On Saturday, the 6th of May, Dr. RAMSAY was met in Broad street, about one o'clock in the afternoon, within sight of his own door, by the wretched maniac, who passed by, and taking a large horseman's pistol, charged with three bullets, out of a handkerchief in which it was concealed, shot the doctor in the back. The perpetrator of this deed was immediately arrested, and committed to prison, where he remained confined as a maniac till his death.

on the bed of death, he alone could survey without emotion the approaching end of his life. Death had for him no terrors; and, on Monday, the 8th of May, 1815, about seven in the morning,

> "He gave his honors to the world again,
> His blessed part to heaven, and slept in peace."

It would be a very interesting, though laborious engagement, to present to the American public a history of the biographical and historical productions of our country, especially from the period of the revolutionary war. Such a work would do honor to our nation, and especially to the large class of men who have engaged in literature, almost invariably at a vast sacrifice. Never had so young a nation such a rich storehouse of facts, and never were facts better narrated, so as to show the simple integrity of the writers, or more adapted to excite patriotism in the souls of their readers. Such an historian would neccessarily describe David Ramsay's works as distinguished by vigorous thought, scrupulous fidelity, and a neat style. He had the best opportunities of acquiring the most correct information, and has nobly discharged his duty of recording it. He was influenced by right principles, and never wrote "A line which dying he would wish to blot."

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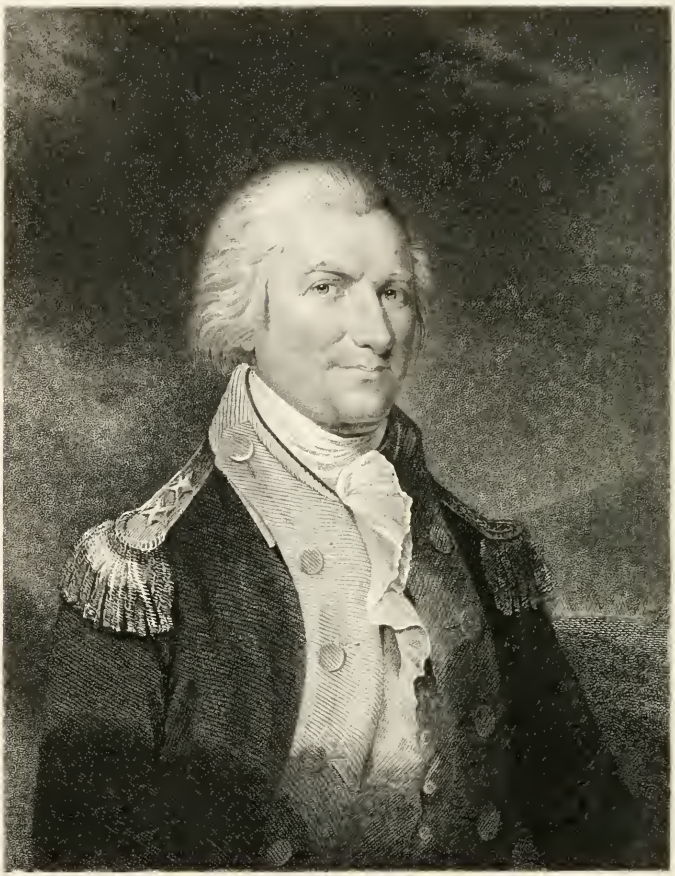

Arthur St. Clair

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

Arthur St. Clair was born at Edinburgh in the year 1734. He was of a distinguished family, but little is known of his early history. The advantages offered by a new country probably induced him to emigrate to America, where he arrived, with Admiral Boscawen, in 1755. Having served in Canada, in 1759 and 1760, as a lieutenant under General Wolfe, he was, after the peace of 1763, appointed to the command of fort Ligonier, in Pennsylvania. How soon afterwards he left the British army, and entered upon the pursuits of civil life alone, does not distinctly appear; but in December, 1775, he was married, and, to use his own language, "held six offices in Pennsylvania, all of them lucrative; viz., clerk of the court of general quarter sessions, prothonotary of the court of common pleas, judge of probate, register of wills, recorder of deeds, and surveyor of the largest county in the province." Having accompanied the commissioners appointed by congress, in 1775, to treat with the Indians at fort Pitt, and acted as their secretary, he attracted the attention of that body, and, without any solicitation on his part, received a commission as colonel in the army. He repaired immediately to Philadelphia, where, in January, 1776, he received orders to raise a regiment, destined to serve in Canada, the well-known scene of former services. The regiment was raised in six weeks, and left Philadelphia in perfect order on the 12th of March, and six companies of it arrived in the neighborhood of Quebec on the 11th of May, in time to cover the retreat of the American troops from that place, while the other four companies took post at Sorel, on the St. Lawrence.

In the operations of the American troops in Canada in 1776, Colonel St. Clair had his full share. He was appointed a brigadier general on the 9th August, 1776, and was ordered, in the autumn of that year, to repair to General Washington's army, then retreating through New Jersey; and he was fortunate enough to join it in time to parti-

cipate actively in the battle at Trenton, and the subsequent engagement at Princeton: events which turned the tide of success in favor of America.

On the 19th of February, 1777, congress appointed him a major general. On the 5th of June, he was ordered by General Schuyler to take command at Ticonderoga, and accordingly reached that post on the 12th, where he found a garrison of about two thousand men, badly armed, worse clad, and without magazines. A garrison of at least ten thousand well appointed troops was necessary for the defence of Ticonderoga, and both General Schuyler and General Gates had demanded that number of congress; but unfortunately that body had received information on which it relied, that a large portion of the British army in Canada had been ordered to New York by sea, and that no serious operations were intended against the northern frontier. Under this erroneous impression, the troops intended for the defence of Ticonderoga had been detained near the coast. A council of general officers, held the 5th of July, 1777, directed the evacuation of the post, which was deemed untenable against a British and German force of seven thousand five hundred troops, by which it was invested. From some cause,—probably from the gallantry displayed in the capture of this post at the commencement of the war,—the public seemed to consider the holding of Ticonderoga a point of honor, and the expressions of vexation and disappointment on its abandonment were loud and violent against the general who directed the retreat, as well as against the commander of the district, General Schuyler. A short time dispelled the heavy censure bestowed upon the general for this measure, the propriety of which was subsequently fully recognised, and approved. Though suspended from command, in consequence of this occurrence, he never quitted the army, but was with General Washington at the battle at Brandywine, on the 11th September, 1777 A general court martial acquitted him with the highest honor, and its decision was confirmed by congress in December, 1778.

The confidence of Washington appears never to have been withdrawn from him, and, upon the occasion of Sir Henry Clinton's movement from New York to Rhode Island, in 1780, with a large body of the British troops at that place, he selected General St. Clair as the officer to command the light infantry of the American army, usually under the orders of Lafayette, in an attack intended to have been made upon the city during the absence of the English commander. The unexpected return of Sir Henry prevented the attempt. Upon the movement to the south, to attack Cornwallis, the command

of the American army was to have been conferred on him, General Washington designing to take, *formally*, the command of the allied army upon himself. The apprehension entertained by congress that a blow might be struck at Philadelphia from New York, with the view to create a diversion in favor of the besieged at Yorktown, induced them to order him to remain near Philadelphia with the recruits of the Pennsylvania line, the great body of which had been marched off to Virginia, under the command of General Wayne. The pressing instances of General Washington, however, induced congress to revoke their order, and he was, after considerable delay, permitted to join the army before Yorktown, which he reached only five or six days before the capitulation. From thence he was sent with six regiments and ten pieces of artillery, to join the troops of General Greene in South Carolina, with directions to assail and reduce all the enemy's posts in North Carolina. They were abandoned, however, at his approach, and on the 27th December, 1781, he joined General Greene at Jacksonburg.

After the peace, General St. Clair resided in Pennsylvania, and in 1786 was a member of congress from that state, and the president of that body in 1787. Upon the erection of the north-western territory into a government, he was appointed governor, an office which he accepted, notwithstanding the reluctance he felt to take upon himself such duties,—his friends saw in this new government the means of fortune; but they placed reliance, perhaps, upon the exercise of a prudence which was foreign to the character of the individual for whom they were interested, and his own view of the matter, "that it was the most imprudent act of his life," seems to have been the most correct. To accept the office, it was necessary to resign the office of auctioneer of the city of Philadelphia, one of the most lucrative in the state, and at the end of about fourteen years of fatigue, privation, and danger, the worldly prospects of the subject of this notice were any thing but bright: he had, to use again his own words, "from long absence, lost all that influence at home which had once been considerable, and had ruined himself in the public service abroad." He was appointed in 1788, and continued in office till 1802, when, upon the erection of Ohio into a state, he declined being a candidate for governor.

We approach the unfortunate period of General St. Clair's career. He was appointed to the command of the forces to be employed against the Indians after Harmar's defeat, and marched to the Miami villages, near which he encamped on the 3d of November, 1791. The army consisted of about fourteen hundred men, the first regiment having

been detached to cover a convoy of provisions, supposed to be in danger from a body of Kentucky militia which had deserted, and to prevent further desertions.

The Indians attacked the army on the 4th of November, about half an hour before sunrise, and in a few minutes it was surrounded by them. The attack commenced upon the militia, then in advance, who broke and fled through the main body, after firing a few shots. This circumstance threw the troops into some confusion, from which they never entirely recovered during the action, which lasted about four hours. Portions of the army behaved well, and several charges were made with the bayonet, which caused the enemy to give way, but no permanent good effect was produced; and in spite of the active and intrepid conduct of the officers generally, and the cool and deliberate bravery of the commander in chief, who was in very feeble health, and who had eight balls through his clothes, the troops commenced a very disorderly retreat, during which their officers lost all control over them, and which was not arrested until they reached fort Washington. The loss was thirty-eight officers and five hundred and ninety-three men killed; and twenty-one officers and two hundred and forty-two men wounded: among the slain, were Major Ferguson and General Butler.

The last years of a long life were spent in claiming from congress a settlement and payment of various claims, and he had, perhaps, reason to complain of the treatment received at the hands of his country. Be the merits of the decision made in his case what they may, the penniless general submitted. He died at Laurel Hill, near Philadelphia, August 31st, 1818, aged eighty-four. During the few last years of his life the state of Pennsylvania gave him an annuity of three hundred dollars, which they soon afterwards raised to six hundred and fifty. A few days after his death, his widow, who for many years had been partially deranged, died at about the same age. An obelisk was placed over his remains, inscribed: "*A humble monument, which is erected to supply the place of a nobler one due from his country.*"

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PUBLISHED AS THE ACT DIRECTS BY

Jean Marion

FRANCIS MARION.

The vast extent of our territory, its geographical and political divisions, and the particular interests, partialities, and prejudices, engendered by our "sovereign state" system, have rendered our duties in the conduct of this work much more delicate and difficult than the mere labor of collecting and arranging the materials after we have decided on the subjects. There are many names, "familiar to our ear as household words," to which the honor of a station in the National Portrait Gallery is willingly conceded every where; but there have been others richly deserving of their country's respect and gratitude,—and, indeed, the number is greater than we had ourselves supposed,—who, not having had the advantage of contemporaneous biographers, and of eminent artists, to give a current value to their well earned fame, have passed away, and are now scarcely remembered beyond the limits of their own state,—the merit of their services forgotten or ascribed to others,—and when their names occur in the general history of their time, they are passed over unobserved, leaving no impression of individual worth.

We have had frequent opportunities to observe with deep regret, that even the names of some most valuable men,—*names most sincerely cherished in some sections* of our country,—are almost *unknown in others*. We state it as a fact; and if it contain reproach, we will do our best to wipe it away.

To many of the partisan leaders in the southern campaigns of the revolution, these remarks are peculiarly applicable. It is true the name of Marion has enjoyed extensive fame; the amusing pages of Weems, the sketch of his life by James, the anecdotes of Major Garden, the ponderous quartoes of Judge Johnson, and the Memoirs of Lieutenant Colonel Lee, have guarded his reputation from neglect: but of many others, the only records are some slight notices in a biographical dictionary, an epitaph, the occasional recurrence of a vote of thanks, or a respectful notice in the general orders of a commander-in-chief.

With these remarks by way of introduction, we will now proceed with our sketch of MARION, as the chief of a group; and afterward rally around him the shades of the heroes who were his comrades in danger, and are worthy to share his glory.

The grandfather of FRANCIS MARION was born in France, and was among the earliest emigrants who sought in Carolina a shelter from the persecuting and sanguinary spirit which desolated the homes of the Huguenots after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

He settled on Cooper River, where, by the labor of his own hands and the assistance of an industrious wife, he soon gathered around him the comforts of an unambitious life. His son, Gabriel, was the father of one daughter and five sons, of whom FRANCIS, the subject of this brief notice, was the youngest. He was born at Winyaw, near Georgetown, South Carolina, in 1732, the same auspicious year which gave birth to Washington and many other distinguished patriots. In the early state of our country, men were too much employed in the arts of husbandry, to attend much to science. It was, indeed, in that section of the country, impossible to obtain more than a plain English education. The wealthy planters of the south sent their sons to Europe, but MARION had not that advantage.

He early evinced an inclination for a sea-faring life, and at the age of sixteen made a voyage to the West Indies. The schooner in which he had embarked, foundered at sea; and the crew, consisting of six persons, took to the boat without water or provisions. They existed six days on the flesh of a dog: on the seventh, MARION and three of the crew reached land, the captain and mate, frantic from suffering, had leaped overboard and perished.

Young MARION now listened to the entreaties of his mother, abandoned the sea, and engaged in the labors of agriculture.

After the death of his father, about the year 1758, he removed to St. John's, and settled at a place called Pond Bluff, about four miles from Eutaw, on the Santee.

The next year he turned out as a volunteer in his brother's troop of provincial cavalry, on an expedition against the Cherokee Indians, which was soon terminated. He served as Lieutenant in Captain William Moultrie's company in the war with the Indians, in 1761, and distinguished himself as "an active, brave, and hardy soldier, and an excellent partisan officer."

In the beginning of the year 1775, he was elected to the provincial congress of South Carolina, from St. John's. In May of the same year, intelligence of the battle of Lexington reached this body, having

in passing from east to south, like the fiery cross of the ancient Gael, lighted up a flame of war which was not to be easily extinguished. Many of the South Carolinians came forward with promptness to enrol themselves in the cause of their country, among whom MARION was ambitious to be one of the first. It was resolved to raise two regiments of infantry, and one of cavalry. MARION was elected captain in the second regiment, under the command of Colonel Moultrie.

During the attack made by the British fleet on Sullivan's island, MARION, who had previously risen to the rank of major, bore a conspicuous part. For this action, Colonel Moultrie was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, and MARION rose to the grade of lieutenant-colonel. He remained with his regiment in garrison at fort Moultrie until the arrival of General Provost before Charleston, in May 1779; he was then ordered to the command of the left redoubt.

On the arrival of Count D'Estaing, MARION, with the gallant second regiment of South Carolina, joined General Lincoln before Savannah. The united French and American forces, after a siege of three weeks, assaulted the works and suffered a repulse with immense loss. D'Estaing hurried on board of his ship with his troops and artillery, and Lincoln retired towards Carolina.

At the siege and capture of Charleston, in 1780, MARION was prevented by an accident from acting with his gallant associates in the defence of the capitol. A few days before the siege, MARION and a large party dined at the house of a friend, who, after dinner, turned the key upon his guests that none of them might retreat from his hospitality, but MARION, who was opposed to the excesses of conviviality, in attempting to make his escape by a window, fell into the street and dislocated his ancle. As a non-effective, he retired from the city; and thus he was preserved to his country, when Lincoln capitulated.

Before he had entirely recovered the use of his limb, MARION made his way through North Carolina into Virginia. There he met General Gates with an army advancing to the assistance of the south. Having no command, he was invited into the family of the Baron De Kalb, as an assistant aid; but on arriving in the neighborhood of Camden, where Cornwallis then had his head quarters, he was despatched in company with Major Horry to break down the bridges in the rear of Cornwallis—so confident was Gates, that in the approaching battle he would drive the enemy off the field. The fatal battle of Camden, in which the brave De Kalb and the flower of his army were sacrificed, once more left South Carolina in possession of the British,

with MARION, Horry, and only *thirty men* to oppose their victorious and disciplined hosts.

On hearing the result of the battle of Camden, MARION collected his little band of patriots around him, and, after an address, asked them whether they would follow his fortunes. Having received an enthusiastic answer in the affirmative, they formed a circle, and took an oath never to serve a tyrant, or be the slaves of Great Britain, and to fight to the last for liberty.

With his few followers he directed his course towards the enemy. He soon fell in with a British escort of ninety men, three times his own number, with two hundred prisoners. Not having been discovered by the enemy, he concealed his men in contiguous swamps till the escort had passed, and after dark continued the pursuit. Towards morning he came upon them by surprise, and was successful in capturing the whole party, and liberating the captives, after killing only three of the enemy.

A few hours subsequent to this affair, MARION was informed that the tories were mustering strong in his neighborhood, with a design to fall upon him. He instantly pushed for their rendezvous, broke in upon them, and of forty-nine men, took thirty prisoners, with the arms, ammunition, and horses of the whole party, without losing a man.

The rumors of these successes, small as they may appear, had a very great effect. The British and tories were enraged at the insults daily offered by a mere handful of militia, who were actually carrying on the war against a force sufficient in number to overwhelm them in an instant, but whose vigilance, activity, local knowledge, and daring courage, gave them advantages which kept their enemies in constant apprehension, and their friends in hope. The little party under the command of MARION received frequent accessions from the resolute and decided whigs, and by the end of August, 1780, he mustered one hundred and fifty men.

About this time MARION received the commission of brigadier-general from Governor Rutledge, and was invested with the command of the military district extending from Charleston to Camden, and along the coast eastward to Georgetown. Whoever joined his standard were volunteers from principle, as they knew they must serve without pay, and provide for every want by active service and unceasing enterprise; but the confidence of the patriots in MARION was unbounded, and the course of the British commander left them no alternative but abject submission, with the additional degradation of being compelled to bear arms against their country. Many had

submitted under the impression that they would be allowed to remain quietly at home, and in the undisturbed possession of their property; but their error was soon dissipated by Cornwallis, who issued orders that all who had taken part in the opposition to England, should be punished with the greatest rigor, and their property be confiscated. The British commander also ordered in the most positive manner, that every militia-man who had borne arms as a loyalist and had afterward joined the patriots should be immediately hanged, and these orders were executed as ordained with the utmost severity. The work of desolation and death proceeded with relentless fury, humanity seemed an outcast from men's bosoms, and cruelty and revenge made fearful havoc of the property of the unfortunate Carolinians. But MARION and a few stout hearts still kept the field, and the unrestrained barbarity of the British soldiery and tories did more to confirm the whigs in their principles, and determine them on resistance unto death, than any other means that could have been adopted by friends or foes.

Without a force to support him in face of an advancing and powerful army, he was obliged frequently to seek security in concealment; and by stratagem, to supply the place of strength—to be always on the alert, striking when least expected, and rapidly retiring to a distance when prudence required a retreat. Thus he acted on the 27th of August, when his whole force, as we have stated, amounted only to one hundred and fifty men, he received information that Major Wemyss, at the head of the 63d regiment and a body of tories, were advancing upon him. He retired over the Pedee, and retreated to North Carolina, and encamped near the head of the Waccamaw; where he remained waiting intelligence from Major James, whom he had detached with a small reconnoitering party to South Carolina.

In a few days this party rejoined their chief, with the information that the country through which Wemyss had marched, exhibited one continued scene of desolation. On most of the plantations every house had been burnt to the ground, the cattle killed, the negroes carried off, and all the provisions destroyed. But these deeds of wanton cruelty had roused the militia, who were reported to be ready to join the general whenever he should appear among them.

Accordingly, MARION returned to South Carolina by forced marches. On the second day he traversed sixty miles, and, arriving near Lynch's creek, was joined by a considerable force. Here he was informed that a party of tories lay about fifteen miles below. and although he might very soon have been reinforced, he yielded to the wishes of his men, and determined on an attack. The tories

were posted at Shepherd's ferry, on the south side of the Black Mingo, a deep navigable creek, and had the command of the passage. At midnight he crossed the bridge, expecting to take them by surprise, but found them drawn up in line and waiting his approach. He succeeded, however, in placing his enemy between two fires; and after a few rounds, they broke and fled, leaving about a third of their number upon the field.

As many of his party had left their families in much distress, the general gave them leave of absence for a time, and appointed Snow's island on the Pedee as the place of rendezvous, to which place he retired with a few men. So soon as the militia began to muster, the General prepared for action. Hearing that Colonel Tynes had summoned the people of Salem and the fork of Black river, to do duty as his majesty's subjects, he resolved to break up the party.

After a long ride, he came up with them just before day. The discharge of his musketry first broke their slumbers; in an instant his men were among them, and of the whole party, thirty-three were killed, forty-six made prisoners, and about sixty escaped. Colonel Tynes, with about one hundred horses and all his baggage, fell into the hands of General Marion. This affair was followed by several other advantages. In one rencounter twenty-four British dragoons fell under the sabres of his party, and on the next day as many more.

Cornwallis experienced great inconvenience as well as loss from these assaults, as they frequently prevented the supplies which were necessary for the support of his army; and the alarm which the exaggerated reports of Marion's force spread through the country, deterred the loyalists from rising, and the recruits who had arrived from the north, from joining the corps in the country. Colonel Tarleton—whose character for activity and enterprise was unfortunately tarnished by many acts of cruelty, but who, for decision and rapidity of action, was more celebrated than any of the British officers in the south—was selected by Cornwallis for an expedition against General Marion. Marion was informed of Tarleton's approach, and that he was to cross the Santee at Nelson's ferry; he accordingly lay in wait for him a part of two days in the River swamp: but Tarleton had already passed. As soon as Marion was informed of this, he commenced his march in the same direction, and at night halted in a wood. The light from the burning houses of a neighboring plantation, indicated the presence of the vindictive foe; and he shortly after ascertained that the British force was at least double his own, with two field pieces, and a deserter for a guide. Marion immediately

retreated; and crossing the Woodyard, (then a dense swamp), in profound darkness, he passed Jack's creek, and rested for the night. As soon as Tarleton had received intelligence of General MARION's position, he pursued to the Woodyard, but was unable to pass that night. The next morning MARION, knowing the vigilance of his foe, decamped betimes; and pursuing his route thirty-five miles through woods, and swamps and bogs where there was no road, encamped the following night on the east side of Black river, at Benbow's ferry, about ten miles above Kingstree. Here he had three difficult passes of swamps in his rear, to which he could fall back in case of need; and here he determined to defend himself. On the morning after the retreat, Tarleton pursued, as he says, "for seven hours, through swamps and defiles." He pursued, in fact, about twenty-five miles, but arriving at Ox swamp which was wide and miry, and without a road to pass it, he desisted, saying to his men, "Come, my boys! let us go back, and we will soon find the *game cock* (General Sumpter); but as for this d—d *old fox*, the devil himself could not catch him."

From Benbow's, MARION planned an expedition to Georgetown, since it was there only he could obtain a supply of ammunition, clothing, and salt, of which he was in great want. He crossed the Black river at Potato ferry, and took a position within three miles of Georgetown, and despatched small parties to reconnoitre on the different roads leading to the town. One of these parties unfortunately came in contact with a more numerous party of tories, and was compelled, after a short contest, to retreat. In this brief affair, Gabriel Marion, a nephew of the general, had his horse killed under him, and was taken prisoner; but as soon as his name was mentioned, he was immediately shot. He had been a lieutenant in the second regiment—was a young gentleman of good education and conduct, and was much beloved in the brigade. MARION mourned over him as a father over an only son; but recollecting that he had to set an example to others, he shortly after expressed his resolution, that as his nephew had lived a virtuous life and had fallen in the cause of his country, he would mourn over him no more.

The garrison in Georgetown being now on their guard, General MARION's plan of surprising was frustrated; and he retired to Snow's island, at the confluence of Lynch's creek and the Pedee, which was afterward his usual place of encampment.

Reinforcements now came in to him daily, and his party began to assume the appearance of a brigade. While he lay here, a party was sent out under Lieutenant Gordon, to patrol on Lynch's creek; while

stopping at a house to take refreshments, they were surrounded by a party of tories, who set the house on fire. Gordon then capitulated on the promise of quarter; but no sooner had his party grounded their arms, than they were all put to death. Not long after, Colonel Kalb, and many others were murdered, with circumstances of still more atrocity. Henceforth there were few prisoners taken on either side. The scenes which ensued, are dreadful to contemplate. We must draw a veil over them, and refer our readers to the histories of the time for a picture of civil war with its most appalling horrors.

Marion was a humane man, and there were, probably, some such among the leaders opposed to him; but in both parties there were men who would not be controlled, and who were equally unrestrained by the laws of war or the claims of mercy. At the commencement of the year 1781, Marion was still engaged in collecting force, and securing his position at Snow's island.

General Greene had now command of the southern army, and his operations were well calculated to revive the drooping hopes of the country. About the middle of January, Colonel Lee with his legion, amounting to about two hundred and eighty men, horse and foot, joined the army; and these, being in excellent condition, were immediately ordered to cross the Pedee, to support Marion, who continued to harrass the enemy's posts. Marion and Lee very soon projected an enterprise against the garrison at Georgetown; but the object of the attack was only partially accomplished.

As the navigation of the Wateree was at this time imperfect, the British were obliged to have most of their stores of rum, salt, ammunition, and clothing transported by land across Nelson's ferry to Camden; and as the Americans were destitute of these articles, frequent conflicts took place upon that road to obtain them. These supplies were always attended by escorts, which seldom consisted of less than three or four hundred men. Marion and his men were regarded by the British and tories as very troublesome neighbors, and they determined to dislodge him. With this design, Colonel Watson, at the head of a British regiment and Harrison's regiment of tories, marched from fort Watson about the 1st of March; and Colonel Doyle, with another British regiment, approached by another route. Marion was soon informed by his scouts of the movement of Watson, and hastened to meet him. They first encountered at a swamp about midway between Nelson's and Murray's ferries; and although the strength of the British column supported by two field pieces, enabled it to force its passage, it suffered considerable loss, and the patriots

exhibited numerous examples of boldness and gallantry. At every favorable point the contest was renewed, and after several days of irregular skirmishing, Colonel Watson arrived at the lower bridge over Black river. Here MARION had anticipated him—the bridge was destroyed. The river, though deep, was fordable below the bridge, and here Watson attempted to pass under cover of his field pieces; but his artillerists were shot by the American marksmen, and all who approached the ford were immediately cut down, nor were the dead and wounded removed from the places where they fell, till night. Watson posted himself a little further up the river in the most open place he could find, where he remained above a week, though constantly annoyed by his vigilant opponents. At length he decamped, and by forced marches, and a circuitous route through the most open country he could find, he made his way to Georgetown, MARION still hanging on his flanks and rear, until they arrived at the Sampit bridge, where the last skirmish took place.

In the mean time the intended mischief at Snow's island had been accomplished by Colonel Doyle. Colonel Irvin, who had been left there with a few men, had been obliged to retreat, after throwing all the stores, arms, and ammunition into the river.

Before MARION returned, Doyle had retreated towards Camden, and, by the celerity of his flight, escaped. At Georgetown, Watson was joined by Ganey with great numbers of tories; and MARION in his turn, was obliged to retreat for want of ammunition.

General Greene had now returned to North Carolina, the battle of Guilford had been fought, and the descent into South Carolina was determined on. Colonel Henry Lee was again sent with a detachment to the assistance of MARION; and about the middle of April, commenced a series of successful enterprises against the British posts. Fort Watson was taken by them on the 23d, Fort Motte on the 12th of May, and Georgetown on the 7th of June. The tide of prosperity had now turned, and the loyalists began to fear the vengeance which they well knew they deserved; but MARION, contented to subdue his enemies without bloodshed, if he could, negotiated a treaty with their most influential leader, Ganey, by which he secured their neutrality.

We must pass over a period of constant activity, until the 8th of September, when MARION commanded the front line of Greene's army, in the battle at Eutaw. In this battle, his marksmen did great execution, and behaved with their accustomed gallantry. General MARION'S services in this action, received the particular acknowledgment of congress.

Before the end of the year, the enemy were driven from all their strong holds in the state, except Charleston.

At the commencement of 1782, MARION was elected to the senate of the state; and during his absence, his brigade suffered by the dissensions of his officers about rank, in consequence of which it dwindled away, divided, and was twice defeated.

MARION was much vexed at the disorder of his brigade, and again took the command in person, on the 24th of February, and in an encounter the next day, he had the mortification to witness the overthrow of his cavalry. In a short time his presence restored order and discipline, but there were no transactions of importance to require particular notice in this place. After the evacuation of Charleston, MARION assembled his brigade beneath the tall cedars in his favorite encampment at Watboo; and, after thanking his officers and men for their many and useful services, bade them an affectionate farewell.

His own plantation in St. John's had been subject to every species of waste and injury; and he was at the termination of his brilliant career—alone and poor. He afterward received the appointment of commander of Fort Johnson. But the most fortunate circumstance for the general, which took place at this juncture, was the favor bestowed on him by a lady. Miss Mary Videau, one of his relatives, was observed to be fond of hearing his praises; a friend mentioned it to MARION, who offered himself and was accepted. She brought him a handsome fortune at their marriage, and he resigned his station at the fort. He returned to his agricultural pursuits, improved his property, gave a hearty welcome and good cheer to his friends, and was hospitable to strangers.

In person General MARION was below the middle size, thin and swarthy. His nose was aquiline, his chin projecting; his forehead was high, and eyes dark and piercing. It is said his wife was the exact counterpart of himself. They had no children.

General MARION served in the convention which framed the constitution of the state, in 1790, after which he declined all public service. He died on the 27th of February, 1795.

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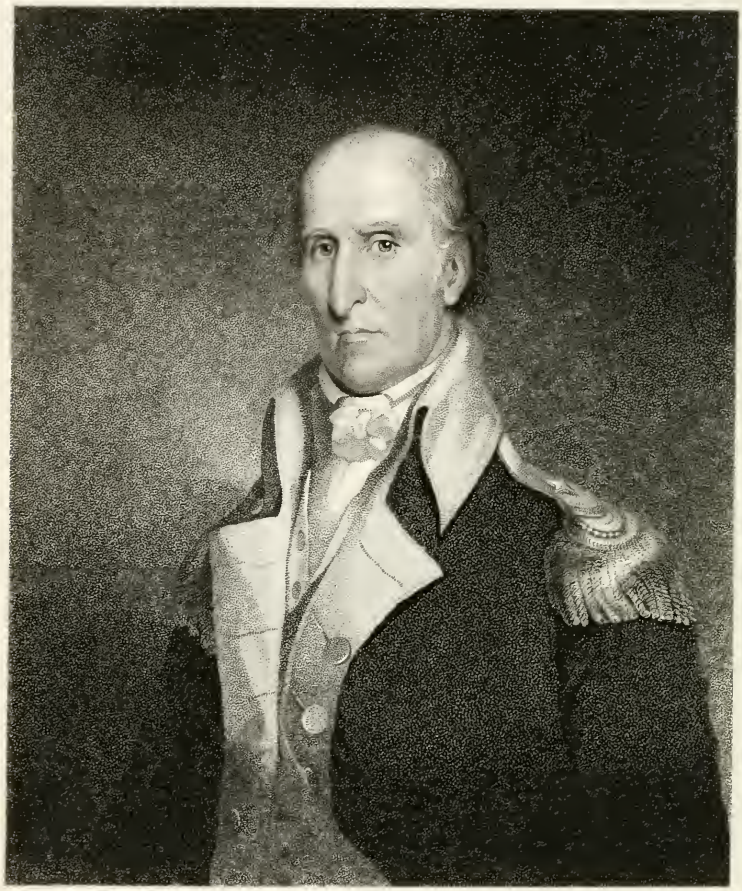

Andw Pickens

ANDREW PICKENS

Was born in Paxton township, Pennsylvania, on the 19th of September, 1739. He was of French descent, his ancestors having been driven from France by the revocation of the edict of Nantes. They first settled in Scotland, and afterwards in the north of Ireland. His father emigrated to Pennsylvania, and from thence removed with his family, while Andrew was very young, to Virginia, and settled for a few years, about eight miles west of where Stanton now stands. In the year 1752, his father removed from Augusta county, Virginia, and settled in the Waxhaws, South Carolina. His family were amongst the first settlers of that part of the state. As he was raised on the frontiers of a newly settled country, he was necessarily deprived of the advantages of a good education. He spent his youth in hunting and agriculture, the usual occupations of such a country. But endowed as he was by nature with uncommon sagacity and great decision of character, he soon attracted the confidence of all who knew him. He was rather above the middle height, very active, with a muscular frame, capable of enduring great fatigue; and there was no hardy enterprise of those days too daring to enlist his zeal and hearty coöperation.

Like many of our most distinguished officers of the revolution, he commenced his military services in the French war, which terminated 1763. It was during this war that he began to develop those qualities for which he was afterwards so eminently distinguished. In the year 1762, he served as a volunteer in a bloody but successful expedition under Lieutenant Colonel Grant, a British officer sent by General Amherst to command against the Cherokee Indians.

In 1761 the settlement made on Long Cane, in the western part of Carolina, was nearly exterminated by the Indians, and many of the inhabitants fled to the Waxhaws for protection, and amongst them was Ezekiel Calhoun and his family. It was Rebecca, the daughter of this gentleman, with whom young Pickens then became acquainted, and

afterwards married. She was the sister of John E. Calhoun, who died while a senator in congress.

Early in 1764, the subject of this biographical sketch removed to the Long Cane settlement, near where Abbeville C. H. is now situated.

He had a considerable family of small children, when the revolution, with all its additional horrors of civil war, commenced. At a very early period, he took a decided and active stand against the right claimed by Great Britain to tax her colonies without their consent. The section of country in which he lived was unfortunately much divided. And it was more so near him, in the section between Saluda and Broad rivers, where the majority were tories.

These circumstances made the struggle in the upper parts of South Carolina far more painful and destructive than it was in almost any other part of the confederacy. The bloody and midnight contests that arose between neighbors and acquaintances, even over their hearth-stones and in the bosom of their families, were far more terrible than the conflagrations of a foreign foe; and nothing but the sternest patriotism and most undaunted courage could have borne up the whig cause against a murderous civil war at home, and the invasion of a relentless enemy from abroad.

At the very commencement of the revolution, Andrew Pickens raised a militia company, and was appointed the captain. The distinguished part which he acted throughout the struggle for independence, has been in general terms recorded by the historian, and the principal events can only be alluded to in the present sketch. His zeal, skill, and courage, were rewarded by his country in his being rapidly promoted to the respective commands of major, colonel, and brigadier general.

In the most despondent time, when South Carolina was overrun by the enemy, and suffered all the horrors of Indian and tory murders, he remained unshaken, and with Marion and Sumpter in different parts of the state, kept up the spirit of resistance. These three generals waged a guerrilla warfare by night and by day, fighting on the banks of this creek and on the banks of that river, over every inch of soil, in a manner that stands as yet unrivalled in the history of American chivalry and gallantry. This will more readily be admitted when we consider, that for the three years immediately preceding the battle of the Cowpens, during which period the American arms had met with a succession of defeats and disasters everywhere, these three state generals fought, with few or no resources save their own undying spirit and courage.

In addition to the common enemy, General Pickens had to encounter the Indians, as his command lay in the upper and western sections of the state. He commanded in chief in an expedition against the Cherokees in 1782. As ammunition was scarce and not to be had, he invented a new mode of fighting savages. He had short sabres, made most of them by the common blacksmiths of the country, and mounted his men, armed with these cutlasses, on horseback. They penetrated the interior of the nation with such rapidity and boldness, that it struck universal terror amongst them. With fire and sword he destroyed in a few days their principal towns; and such was his success, that with a force of five hundred men he subdued the spirit of that powerful people, and laid the foundation of a peace so permanent that it has not been since disturbed.

At the commencement of the revolution, the council of safety thought proper to raise and officer two regiments in the western or upper parts of the state. The candidates for colonel of one of these regiments were Robert Cunningham, Mayson, and Moses Kirkland. Mayson got the commission, and the other two immediately became disgusted and turned tories. They, particularly the first, having extensive connexions and acquaintances, produced great dissensions. The consequence was that the tories, who had hitherto fought in detached parties, assembled in 1779 more than seven hundred men, under Colonel Boyd. The plan of operations was laid in New York by the British commander. When Savannah was taken, Colonel Gamble was advanced to Augusta. Boyd, who had just returned from New York, was to notify the disaffected and excite the tories in the western parts of North and South Carolina, and force his way to join Colonel Gamble at Augusta. Colonel Gamble immediately moved up Savannah river with several hundred mounted men, and after manœuvring in the neighborhood of where Petersburgh now stands, and Kerr's fort, in order to effect a junction with Boyd, he was compelled by the whigs to return. General Pickens, who was then a colonel, with only three hundred and twenty men, after driving back Gamble, pursued Boyd, and forced him to cross the river, eighteen miles above the junction of Savannah and Broad rivers. He then crossed at their junction, and was joined by Colonel Dooly and Lieutenant Colonel Clarke, with about one hundred Georgians. Colonel Dooly, with great patriotism, gave the command of all the forces to him. They then pursued Boyd rapidly, who had taken a circuitous route through the Cherokee nation, until they overtook him in a few days, on the east banks of Kettle creek in Georgia, just as his men had shot down some beeves, and were pre-

paring their breakfast. Colonel Pickens had divided his forces into three divisions, Colonel Dooly commanding the right, and Clarke the left, with directions to flank them, while he commanded the attack from the centre, with strict orders not to fire until within thirty-five paces of the enemy. Boyd was a brave, active man, but was shot down early in the action. After close fighting for half an hour, the whigs drove the enemy through the cane, over the creek. They fought with desperation, and left a great many dead and wounded upon the field. They then rallied on a rising ground on the west bank, and renewed the fight, the whigs finding great difficulties in pressing through the cane. However, the victory was complete. The whigs had four hundred and twenty, and the tories upwards of seven hundred; and out of that number, not more than three hundred ever reached Colonel Gamble in Augusta. This success was of far more importance than the numbers engaged would indicate. It broke up the tories throughout North Carolina, who never afterwards assembled except in small parties, or under the immediate protection of a foreign force. Although they were dreaded for their desperate and malignant outrages upon the country, yet they acted more for the plunder and murder of individuals than for concerted and manly warfare. This battle of Kettle creek, in 1779, was decisive of their fate. Colonel Pickens, with many other whig officers of this section, had many desperate rencounters with detached parties of the disaffected, which, although developing much bravery and personal courage, are too numerous to be mentioned in this short sketch.

He was with General Lincoln at the battle of Stono, and had his horse killed under him while he was covering the retreat ordered by that general. He commanded the militia forces at the famous battle of the Cowpens. When all the circumstances are considered, this must be pronounced one of the most gallant and daring battles of the revolution. Two-thirds of the American forces were militia under his command. The continentals were under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Howard, and the cavalry under Colonel Washington, and all directed by the skill and bravery of Morgan. Tarleton, at the head of his mounted men, flushed with conquest, and arrogant with success, pressed on, expecting certain victory. General Morgan had been separated from the main army under General Greene, and Tarleton had been detached by Cornwallis to cut him off. South Carolina was literally overrun, and military garrisons had been regularly established at Camden, Granby, Ninety-Six, Augusta, and other places. Cornwallis and Tarleton were pressing, with superior forces, Greene and

Morgan into North Carolina. The Cowpens is in the upper edge of Spartanburgh district, and very near the North Carolina line. It was of vast importance that those under General Morgan should not be prevented in their retreat from effecting a junction with Greene, who was also pressed by the superior force of Cornwallis. Under these circumstances, General Morgan's opinion was against fighting at the Cowpens. Colonel PICKENS thought that something must be done, or the spirit of the country would be broken down, and South Carolina become a *permanent* and easy conquest. After a council of officers was held, the fight was determined on. The enemy were superior in numbers by two hundred. Colonel PICKENS formed his line about two hundred yards in advance of the second line, consisting of the light infantry and a corps of Virginia riflemen. The third line was formed from the cavalry with about fifty mounted militia men. Colonel PICKENS issued strict orders not to fire until the enemy were within forty yards, and when forced to retire, to form on the right of the second line. They were obeyed, and the fire was as destructive as it was unexpected. It checked the impetuosity of Tarleton for a few moments, when he encountered the second line; and the militia, to the astonishment of the enemy, fell back in good order, and rallied under their leader in proper time for the second onset. The second line were forced to give way, and fall back upon the cavalry; and while Tarleton was cutting down the militia, Colonel Washington made a successful charge upon him; and Howard, almost at the same moment, with his continentals, charged with fixed bayonets. "The example was instantly followed by the militia. Nothing could exceed the astonishment and confusion of the British, occasioned by these unexpected charges."* The victory was complete. This *was the first time* in the history of the country, that militia were rallied and brought in good order to the second fire and charge; and it is not detracting from any to say, that on that occasion, animated by the spirit and courage of their commander, they won at least an equal share of glory with the continentals. The 1st battalion of the 71st, and two British light infantry companies, laid down their arms to the American militia. Upwards of three hundred of the enemy were killed or wounded, and above five hundred were taken prisoners, with baggage, artillery waggons, horses, &c., &c. This victory had a tremendous effect upon the whole country, and was followed by a series of successes up to the victory of the Eutaws, and the capture of Cornwallis

* Ramsay's History of the United States.

For his gallantry and bravery on that occasion, congress voted Colonel Pickens a sword, and immediately afterwards he was appointed brigadier general. After this battle General Morgan joined General Greene, who was pursued by Cornwallis, and made one of the most skilful and fortunate retreats in the history of the country. The reason why General Pickens happened not to be in the battle of Guilford C. H. was, that a few days before, the militia under his command from Georgia and South Carolina, and from Rowan and Mecklenberg counties in North Carolina, were offended in the affair of Whiteset's mills; and under the advice of Governor Rutledge, who had arrived in camp, he marched them back into South Carolina.

In the meantime, however, General Pickens and Lieutenant Colonel Lee had been detached in pursuit of Tarleton in North Carolina, who was exciting the loyalists. Three hundred and fifty of the tories fell in with General Pickens and Colonel Lee, under an impression that they were Tarleton's men, and while crying "God save the king," they were cut to pieces.

He immediately returned and laid siege to Augusta, then in possession of the British and tories under the command of Brown. Colonel Lee and himself then acted jointly and in concert. In a few days Brown surrendered.

At the siege of Ninety-Six his brother Joseph, who commanded a company, was shot while reconnoitring the fort; and another brother was taken prisoner by the tories, and delivered into the hands of Indians, who inhumanly scalped and then burned him as sport for their dance, many tories being present. At the great battle of the Eutaws, he commanded with Marion the militia of the Carolinas, and early in the action received a severe wound in the breast by a musket ball. His life was providentially saved by the ball striking the buckle of his sword belt, and an officer of the Maryland line caught him as he was falling.

In his military life, his strong characteristics were great sagacity and decision, collected courage and prudence, connected with sleepless watchfulness; so much so, that in his many and various engagements with all kinds of enemies, he was never taken by surprise.

Peace being restored, the voice of his country called him to serve her in various civil capacities, and he continued without interruption in public employment until 1801. By the treaty of Hopewell with the Cherokees, in which he was one of the commissioners, the cession of that portion of the state now called Greeneville, Anderson, and Pickens districts, was obtained. Soon afterwards he settled at Hopewell on

Seneca river, the place where the treaty was held. He was a member of the legislature, and afterwards of the convention that formed the state constitution. He was elected a member under the new constitution until 1794, when he became a member of congress. Declining a reëlection to congress, he was again returned a member of the legislature.

Such was the confidence of General Washington in him, that he requested his attendance at Philadelphia to consult with him on the practicability and best means of civilizing the southern Indians. And he also offered him the command of a brigade of light troops under the command of General Wayne, in his campaign against the northern Indians, which he declined.

In 1794, when the militia was first organized conformable to the act of congress, he was appointed one of the two major generals of the state, which commission he resigned after holding it a few years. He was one of the commissioners who settled the line between South Carolina and Georgia, and he was appointed a commissioner of the United States in all the treaties held with all the southern tribes of Indians, until he withdrew from public life.

It is deeply to be regretted that there has as yet been no full and general history of the upper parts of South Carolina, and of the various scenes in which he was called to act so prominent a part. This is owing principally to the rude and unlettered state of the country in its early settlement and revolutionary struggle, when but few men kept any particular records.

Determining to enjoy that tranquillity and peace which he had so greatly contributed to establish, with the simplicity of the early times of the Roman republic, he retired from the busy scenes of life to his farm at Tomassee* (a place peculiarly interesting to him), where he devoted himself with little interruption to domestic pursuits and reflections until his death. During this tranquil period, few events occurred to check the even tenor of his virtuous and happy life. Revered and beloved by all, his house, although remote from the more frequented parts of the state, was still the resort of numerous friends and relations, and often received the visits of the enlightened traveller.

* At this place (Tomassee), 1779, he fought the most desperate battle he ever was engaged in with the Cherokees, being attacked by them, amounting to ten times his numbers, in an open old field, where they fought hand to hand under the bloody tomahawk for three quarters of an hour, and succeeded, by daring valor, in driving back the savages with great slaughter.

He looked with great interest on our last war with Great Britain, and the causes which led to it, distinctly perceiving that in its consequences, the prosperity, independence, and glory of his country were deeply involved. In this hour of danger, the eyes of his fellow citizens were again turned towards their tried servant. Without his knowledge, he was called by the spontaneous voice of his countrymen into public service. Confidence thus expressed could not be disregarded. He accepted a seat in the legislature in 1812, and was pressed to serve as governor at that eventful crisis, which with his characteristic moderation and good sense he declined. He thought the struggle should be left to more youthful hands.

In his domestic circumstances, although economical and prudent, yet he was indifferent to the acquisition of property. He had a competency, and never desired more. He had great simplicity of character, without contrariety or change. He reflected much, was ever grave, and said but little. He scarcely ever conversed on the scenes in which his eventful life had been spent, unless pressed very particularly to do so.

His features were strong and bold with an uncommonly deep and powerful eye.

The prominent points of his character were judgment, decision, and prudence. He was from early life a firm believer in the Christian religion, and an influential member of the Presbyterian Church.

He died suddenly in 1817, apparently in full health, after having enjoyed a long life of seventy-eight years, rich in acts of patriotism and benevolence, and blessed with all those Christian charities that soften and comfort the heart of man.

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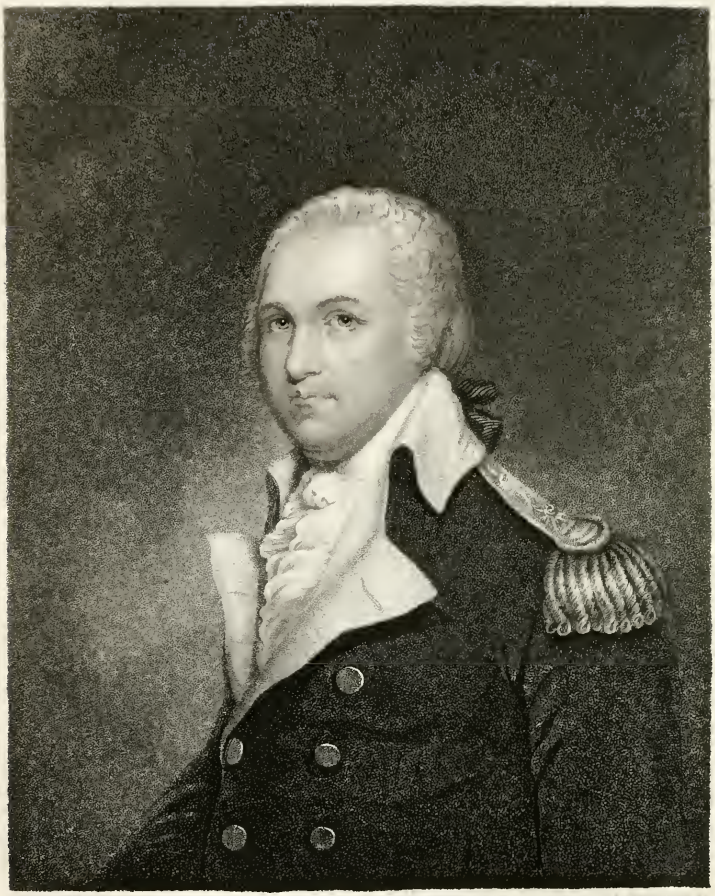

H. Lee

HENRY LEE.

Henry Lee was born in Virginia, on the 29th of January, 1756. His family was one of respectability, and even of distinction, and the name of his father frequently occurs in the lists of the members of the provincial assembly of Virginia. During the early part of his life, young Lee was educated at home under the care of a private tutor; he afterwards pursued his studies at Princeton College, New Jersey, then under the superintendence of the patriotic Dr. Witherspoon, whence he was graduated in the year 1774.

In 1776, while yet but twenty years of age, on the nomination of Patrick Henry, he was appointed to the command of one of six companies of cavalry, raised by his native state; the whole under the command of Colonel Theodoric Bland.

At this time, the want of an efficient body of cavalry was strongly felt in the continental army. During the campaigns of 1775 and '76, there was not attached to it a single troop of horse: the inconvenience, and indeed positive danger, arising from this was pointed out by General Washington to the congress; and in consequence, the Virginia regiment was taken into the service of the union. In September, 1777, Lee with his company joined the main army. Here, under the immediate eye of the commander-in-chief, he soon had opportunities of exhibiting his courage and capacity; and he rapidly acquired the confidence of Washington, one of the best tests of merit. He introduced a strict discipline into his corps, while he paid a rigorous attention to the equipment and the horses of his men. His troop was thus enabled to act, when called upon, with promptness and efficiency; and besides the ordinary duties of the field, in attacking light parties of the enemy, in procuring information, and in foraging, rendered the most effectual service to the Americans, while it greatly annoyed their opponents.

As Captain Lee in general lay near the British lines, a plan was formed in the latter part of January, 1778, to cut off both him and his troop. A body of cavalry, amounting to about two hundred men,

made an extensive circuit, and seizing four of his patrols, came unexpectedly upon him in his quarters, a stone house, while the majority of his men were dispersed in search of forage. He had with him at the time but ten men; yet with these he made so resolute and gallant a defence, that the enemy were obliged to retreat, after having lost four men killed, together with several horses, and an officer with three privates wounded. Of his own party, besides the patrols and a quarter-master-sergeant who were made prisoners, out of the house, he had but two wounded. Washington mentioned the conduct of Captain Lee upon this occasion in terms of marked approbation, and wrote to him a private letter congratulating him upon his fortunate escape. Soon after this affair he was raised by congress to the rank of major with the command of an independent partisan corps of two troops of horse, to which a third troop, together with a body of infantry, was afterwards added.

In the year 1779, Lee again found an opportunity of distinguishing himself by the successful execution of a plan which he had formed for the capture of the British garrison at Powles Hook. On the 19th of July, at the head of about three hundred men, he completely surprised the garrison, and, after taking one hundred and sixty prisoners, retreated with the loss of but two men killed and three wounded. The humanity shown on this occasion enhances the merit of the action, for under circumstances of recent cruelty on the part of the British which would have warranted a severe retaliation, quarter was given to all those who surrendered. As a reward of the "prudence, address, and bravery" shown by Major Lee in this affair, congress ordered that a gold medal should be struck under the direction of the board of treasury, and presented to him.

In the commencement of the year 1780, he joined, with his legion, the army of the south under General Greene, having been previously promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel. In the celebrated retreat of Greene before Lord Cornwallis, the legion of Colonel Lee formed part of the rear guard of the American army. So hot was the pursuit that Colonel Lee at one time came in contact with the dragoons of Tarleton, and in a successful charge killed eighteen of their number, and made a captain and several privates prisoners.

When Greene had effected his retreat in safety, he detached Lee with Colonel Pickens to watch and interrupt the movements of Lord Cornwallis, to sustain the confidence of the whigs in that section of the country, and if possible to cut off any party that might be detached from the main army. In pursuance of these orders, a plan

having been formed to surprise Tarleton, the legion, while marching to its execution, fell in with some messengers who had been despatched by Colonel Pyle, a zealous loyalist, to apprize Tarleton of his situation. Mistaking the troopers of the legion for the British dragoons, the messengers communicated the object of their errand to Colonel LEE, who was thus enabled to come unexpectedly upon the British partisan. Pyle had collected about four hundred loyalist militia, and the object of LEE was at first to disarm and disperse them; but the approach of a party of the militia of Pickens having produced a partial discovery and drawn a fire from some of the enemy, a conflict ensued, in which about ninety of the loyalists were killed, and many severely wounded.

At the battle of Guilford, LEE's legion was actively engaged; previous to the action, encountering and driving back Tarleton's dragoons with loss, and afterwards maintaining to the left of the American line a sharp and separate conflict until the retreat of the main army. After this battle, Lord Cornwallis retired to Wilmington, while General Greene remained undecided whether to attend upon the motions of the British general, or, leaving him to act as he might think proper, boldly to advance at once into South Carolina, and endeavor to reannex to the union that and its sister state of Georgia. The latter plan, which led to results so fortunate for the country, and so honorable to those engaged in its execution, is stated to have been formed and supported by Colonel LEE, who was highly esteemed by Greene, and who is known to have enjoyed his confidence. The testimony of two gentlemen, (the Honorable Peter Johnston of Virginia, and Doctor Irvine of Charleston,) one of whom was a lieutenant in the legion, the other its surgeon, is conclusive as to this point: Dr. Irvine expressly declaring that he himself was the agent confided in by LEE, in his communications to General Greene; and several expressions in the correspondence of the latter can only be explained by the supposition that LEE was the author of the plan. In pursuance of this plan, Greene advanced southward, having previously detached LEE, with the legion, to join the militia under Marion, and in coöperation with him to attempt the minor posts of the enemy. By a series of bold and vigorous operations, Forts Watson, Motte, and Granby speedily surrendered; after which, the legion was ordered to join General Pickens, and attempt to gain possession of Augusta. On the way LEE surprised and took Fort Galphin. The defences of Augusta consisted in two forts: Fort Cornwallis, the stronger of the two, was held by Lieutenant Colonel Browne with a

party of regular troops; the other, Fort Grierson, was defended by the colonel of the same name, at the head of a number of loyalist militia. Fort Grierson was immediately taken by assault, the commander* with many of his garrison being killed, after which the approaches against Fort Cornwallis were commenced with vigor. Browne defended himself with skill and courage, frequently sallying out against the works of the besiegers; but finally on the 5th of June, after a siege of sixteen days, he was compelled to surrender. Browne had rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the Americans in that section of the country; and fears were entertained lest the militia should satisfy their desire of vengeance in a summary manner upon his surrender. Such an event would have been repugnant to the feelings of Lee as an officer and a man, and accordingly he guarded against it with the utmost care. Browne was conveyed to his quarters, immediately after he had surrendered, and a company of the legion served him as a guard until he was placed in safety.

After the surrender of Augusta, Lee rejoined General Greene, then engaged in the siege of Ninety-six. In the unfortunate assault upon that place, which occurred soon after, he was completely successful in the part of the attack intrusted to his care; but the ill success of the other column and the rapid approach of Lord Rawdon determined Greene to raise the siege, and the advantages gained by Lee were pushed no farther. In the battle at Eutaw Springs, which soon followed, his military talents were again exerted, and again contributed in no small degree to the successful issue of the day.

Soon after the battle of Eutaw, Colonel Lee was despatched by Greene to the north, that he might represent to the commander-in-chief the circumstances of the Americans in the south, and through his mediation obtain the coöperation of the French fleet upon the coast. Washington was then engaged in the siege of Yorktown, and Lee arrived a few days before its surrender. He was present at that imposing and eventful ceremony, and, after having executed his commission returned again to the south.

The health of Colonel Lee had suffered greatly under the unceas-

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* The war in Georgia had been conducted with circumstances of mutual cruelty. So far had this spirit extended that quarter was often refused, and men were butchered after they had thrown down their arms. Grierson was shot by some of the militia after he had surrendered, and though Lee offered a large reward for the discovery of the murderers they were never detected.

ing activity of body and mind to which he had been subjected; besides, he thought himself neglected and his services underrated: under the influence of these feelings he sought and obtained permission to retire from the army, carrying with him however in his retreat the esteem and affection of General Greene, and the acknowledgment that *his services had been greater than those of any one man attached to the southern army.*

Soon after his return to Virginia, he married Miss Matilda, the daughter of Philip Ludwell Lee, and settled at Strafford, the residence of his father-in-law, in the county of Westmoreland. In 1786, he was appointed one of the delegates of Virginia to the general congress, which situation he retained until the federal constitution was adopted; he was likewise, in 1788, elected a member of the convention called in Virginia to ratify the present constitution, and there, by his warm and eloquent defence of it, greatly distinguished himself. He was afterwards chosen a member of the house of delegates of his native state. In 1792, he was elected governor of Virginia, which elevated station he filled for three years.

When the whiskey insurrection, in 1795, agitated the western part of Pennsylvania, General Washington appointed Lee to the command of the forces which were ordered against the insurgents. The insurrection, formidable on account of the numbers engaged in it, was subdued with ease and without bloodshed, and Lee received great credit for his conduct. In the disputes between this country and France, which occurred during the administration of President Adams, Washington was appointed to the command of a provisional army to have been raised in case of an invasion. In nominating the officers whom he wished to serve under him, Washington showed his high opinion of Lee by giving him the rank of major-general in case either of the officers named to that rank declined to serve, and otherwise placing him first in the list of brigadiers.

In 1799, he was again chosen to represent his native state in the congress of the union, and upon the death of General Washington he was appointed to pronounce his eulogium.* He retained his seat in congress until the election of Jefferson to the chief magistracy, when he again retired to private life.

The last years of the life of Lee were clouded by pecuniary

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* It was upon this occasion he originated the celebrated sentence, "First in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen."

embarrassments. The hospitable and profuse style of living so common in Virginia, ruined his estate, and even abridged his personal liberty. It was in 1809, while confined for debt, that he composed his memoirs of the southern campaign, in which he had himself borne so conspicuous a part, and the events of which he had so good an opportunity of knowing.

General Lee happened to be in Baltimore in 1812, at the time of the riots occasioned by the publication of some strictures on the war in the *Federal Republican*, a newspaper opposed to the course of the administration. The printing-office having been torn down and the materials demolished, the publication of the paper was renewed at Georgetown, while a house was engaged in Baltimore from which the papers were to be distributed. An attack on the house being apprehended, Lee, from motives of personal friendship to the editor of the paper, together with a number of others, assembled in the house for the purpose of protecting it. On being attacked by the mob, fire-arms were employed in defence, and two of the assailants were killed and several wounded. The military arriving soon after, a compromise was effected, and the defenders of the house, surrendering upon a promise of safety, were for greater security escorted to the city prison; but during the night the mob reassembled in greater force, attacked the jail, and forcing the doors killed or mangled in a shocking manner its defenceless inmates. From the injuries received upon this occasion General Lee never recovered. His health decaying he repaired to the West Indies, in hopes that a warmer and more equable temperature would arrest the ravages of disease. His hopes proved futile, and in 1818, returning to the United States, he expired on the 25th of March, at the house of Mrs. Shaw, the daughter of his old friend and commander General Greene, on Cumberland Island, near St. Mary's, Georgia.

General Lee was about five feet nine inches high, well proportioned, of an open, pleasant countenance, and of a dark complexion. His manners were frank and engaging, his disposition generous and hospitable. He was twice married: first to Miss Lee, by whom he had two children, a son and a daughter; and afterwards to Ann, daughter of Charles Carter of Shirley, by whom he had three sons and two daughters.

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Wm H Crawford

WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD.

William Harris Crawford was born in Nelson County, Virginia, 24th February, 1772. In 1779, his father, Joel Crawford, removed with his family to Stevens' Creek, Edgefield District, South Carolina, about thirty miles above Augusta. The next winter, the British troops having taken Savannah and Augusta, Mr. Crawford returned north over Broad River, into Chester District. Soon after South Carolina was overrun by the British, he was seized and thrown into Camden jail as a rebel. Here he remained the greater part of the summer, and was released on some of his neighbors becoming his security. In 1783 he removed into Georgia, and settled on Kiokee Creek, Columbia County.

The disturbances of the country had an unfavorable influence upon its schools. The advantages for educating its youth were at best very meagre. Young Crawford went to school a few months while his parents resided in South Carolina, and discovered such capacity for receiving instruction, as determined his father, when permanently settled in Georgia, to send him to Scotland, and give him a thorough education. He made arrangements with a Scotch merchant in Augusta, for supplying his son with funds during his residence at the University; but the merchant, in a fit of derangement, having attempted to cut his own throat, Mr. Crawford thought it unsafe to entrust him with funds and with the superintendence of his son. Having abandoned the idea of sending him abroad, he put him to school in the country, and gave him the best English education he could, and in 1788 set him to teaching school. Before this year expired, his father died, and the disease then prevalent in the country (probably small-pox) swept away most of the valuable servants of the family, and reduced them to very narrow circumstances. To aid his mother in supporting a large and almost helpless family, young Crawford taught school, more or less, for three or four years. In 1794 the Re-

verend Dr. Waddel opened a Latin school in Columbia, called Carmel Academy. The desire of obtaining a classical education, which had been lost sight of since his father's death, now revived, and Mr. CRAWFORD entered the Academy, and remained in it two years, studying the usual Latin and Greek authors, philosophy, and the French language. The last year he was usher in the school, and received for his services one third of the tuition money. In this situation he remained until April 1796, and made the best possible use of his opportunities. In that month, this obscure usher, not dreaming of politics, but still anxious to increase his stock of useful learning, with a hope finally to obtain a profession, bent his way to Augusta, there to fling himself in the way of fortune's gambols, and to receive whatever the sportings of her fancy might turn up to an unknown but bold adventurer. His means were, however, perfectly inadequate to the objects he had in view. He obtained a situation in the Richmond Academy, where he remained in the double character of student and instructor until the year 1798, when he was appointed Rector of that institution. During his residence in Augusta he studied law, to the practice of which he was admitted in the course of that year. He was a self-taught law scholar. It may be remarked, that while he was engaged in his scholastic and professional studies, he supported a character for the most exemplary morality and prudence, and was a most indefatigable, close, and laborious student.

Mr. CRAWFORD was a man considerably above ordinary height, large, muscular, and well-proportioned. His head and face were remarkably striking, and impressed the beholder at once with the belief that he must possess more than ordinary powers of intellect. His complexion was fair, and, until late in life, ruddy. His features were strong and regular. When at rest, they indicated great firmness and perseverance of character. When he smiled, an engaging benignity overspread his whole countenance. His eyes, before they were affected by his protracted illness at Washington, were clear blue, mild, though radiant. Those who never made his acquaintance until his return to Georgia, will be apt to consider this description of his person overwrought, while those who knew him in the prime of life will hardly think it does him justice. His deportment was affable, his step firm, his gait erect and manly, but not ostentatious, indicating courage and independence.

His manners, though free from stiffness and hauteur, were never very graceful. They were such, however, as to make all about him feel easy. There was in him a certain consciousness of superior mind,

as has been said of another, which could not always be repressed nor withdrawn from observation. He was at all times a man of decided feelings—warm in his attachments, and vehement in his resentments. He was prompt to repel insults, and equally prompt to forgive whenever an appeal was made to his clemency. No personal labor was too great to be endured, if by it he could elevate modest merit from poverty to comfort, or advance the interests and honor of his friends. No child of distress ever made an unsuccessful appeal to his charity. His rule was to give something in every case, but to regulate the amount by the necessities which urged the call.

Few men have felt such perfect contempt for show and display as Mr. Crawford. His dress was always plain, and never at all in his way. Indeed, he gave himself no care whatever about what he should wear. At the age of thirty-two, after a seven years' engagement, which had been suspended by his poverty, he married Susannah Girardin, of Augusta, who still survives, and who resides at Woodlawn, his country-seat, where he settled in 1804, and where he resided from that period to the day of his death, except when engaged in the public service. After marriage, he referred the subject of dress to Mrs. Crawford, who was as plain and unaffected in her taste as himself. Though his situation in public life often required him, out of respect to the customs of the country, and to avoid the charge of eccentricity, to keep up a style and equipage of unwonted splendor, it was manifest that his heart was not in it; nor does any one, at all acquainted with the man, believe for a moment, that his opposition to these things proceeded from penuriousness, or any kindred sentiment. He was a man of unquestioned liberality. He was seldom known to ask the price of any thing, and never considered any thing dear that added to the pleasure and comfort of himself or family. At an early age he imbibed the sentiment, that dandyism and intellectuality were antagonistic traits of character; and he was heard to say, a short time before his death, that amidst an extensive acquaintance with men of distinction in this country and in Europe, he had seen but two dandies who were men of genius. Modest virtue, sound sense, and stern integrity were the surest passports to his esteem. With these, a poor man was a prince in his affections; without them, a prince was the poorest of all beings.

Mr. Crawford's house has often been styled "Liberty Hall" by those familiar with the unrestrained mirthfulness, hilarity, and social glee which marked his fireside; and the perfect freedom with which every child, from the eldest to the youngest, expressed his or her opinion upon the topics suggested by the moment, whether those to

pics referred to men or measures. His children were always encouraged to act out their respective characters precisely as they were, and the actions and sentiments of each were always a fair subject of commendation, or good-humored ridicule by the rest. They criticised the opinions and conduct of the father, with the same freedom as those of each other, and he acknowledged his errors or argued his defence with the same kind spirit and good temper as distinguished his course towards them in every other case. The family government was one of the best specimens of democracy the world has ever seen. There was nothing like faction in the establishment. According to the last census, before marriage and emigration commenced, the population was ten, consisting of father and mother and eight children, of whom five are sons and three daughters. Suffrage on all questions was universal, extending to male and female. Freedom of speech and equal rights were felt and acknowledged to be the birthright of each. Knowledge was a common stock, to which each felt a peculiar pleasure in contributing according as opportunity enabled him. When afflictions or misfortunes came, each bore a share in the common burden. When health and prosperity returned, each became emulous of heightening the common joy. Chess, drafts, and other games, involving calculation and judgment, and plays which called for rapid thought, quick perception, and ready answers, formed sources of in-door amusements. Those requiring vigor of nerve and agility of muscle were performed upon the green. In all these sports upon the green and in the house, Mr. Crawford was, even down to his last days, the companion of his children ; delighting them often by taking part himself. Though the disease of which he suffered so much while at Washington deprived him of his activity, his zeal for the gratification of his children, and his delight in contributing all he could to their happiness, knew no abatement. As a husband, he was kind, affectionate, and devoted. He was never ostentatious in his attachments to any one, always evincing his regard more by substantial beneficence than by words. No parent was ever better beloved of his children than he. His home instructions were of incalculable advantage to them. He never contented himself with merely sending them to schools of highest and best repute, but made a personal examination of them almost every day, that he might see and know for himself how they progressed and how they were taught. He was in the habit of drawing them around him in a class, and requiring them to read with him. On these occasions, the Bible was his chief class-book, and Job and Psalms his favorite portions. The attention

and instructions here mentioned were faithfully accorded during the whole time of his cabinet service at Washington, except during his extreme illness. After his return from Georgia, and his partial recovery from his disease, he still kept up an intimate acquaintance with the progress of his younger children, and the manner of their instruction at school; though his general debility prevented his being so indefatigable as he had been. At no time of his life did he ever lose sight of the importance of storing the minds of his children with virtuous principles. The strict observance of truth, the maintenance of honor, generosity, and integrity of character, he never ceased to enjoin upon them as indispensable to respectability and happiness.

It is not within the knowledge of any of his children that he was ever guilty of profane swearing. He never made a profession of religion, but was a decided believer in Christianity, a life member of the American Bible Society, a Vice-President of the American Colonization Society, and a regular contributor to the support of the gospel.

Though Mr. CRAWFORD's strides to political preferment were long and unusually rapid, as will be seen in the course of this sketch, they were not free from those difficulties and embarrassments which have often beset the way of those who have aspired to places of high honor and distinction. In all ages of the world, men of low minds and corrupt hearts have so far controlled popular sentiment, as to infuse into it principles, which, when subjected to the tests of enlightened wisdom, sound ethics, and the highest and best dictates of refined humanity, must, without hesitation, be pronounced erroneous. The history of man evinces that no order of intelligence on earth has, at all times hitherto, been sufficiently strong, successfully to oppose those practices which have been the legitimate result of such principles. Thus much must be conceded of those mortal conflicts which spring from the law of honor, as exhibited in the opinions, and enforced by the examples, of some of the most illustrious statesmen and patriots of this country and Europe. That the subject of this notice was, in the commencement of his career, himself imbued with this philosophy, (this false philosophy,) and that he gave a practical illustration of his faith upon two occasions, it were useless to deny or conceal. It is believed, however, that he ever afterwards looked upon this part of his history with deep and poignant regret. The only affair* of this kind, with which he was afterwards connected, was one not of his own, and in which he consented to act as se-

* Eppes and Randolph.

cond, only that he might restore peace between the parties. This he did most effectually, and by his course in the matter secured the abiding confidence of all concerned.

In the spring of 1799, Mr. Crawford removed into Oglethorpe County; and without money or patron commenced the practice of law, in what was then called the Western, now the Northern Circuit of Georgia. Such were his perseverance, industry, and talents, that he soon attracted the notice of that distinguished statesman and sound jurist, Peter Early, then at the head of his profession in the Up Country, and to whom he became warm and ardently attached. His great professional zeal, that always made his client's cause his own, his unremitted attention to business, his punctuality and promptness in its despatch, his undisguised frankness and official sincerity, disdaining the little artifices and over-reaching craft of the profession, combined with a dignity which, springing from self-respect alone, was entirely unmingled with affectation, his honesty and irreproachable moral character, accompanied with manners the most plain, simple, and accessible, secured for him a public and private reputation seldom equalled, and never surpassed in any country. His most prominent virtue was a bold and lofty ingenuousness of mind; in any intercourse whatever with him it was his most striking trait, and yet it was far from being studied. He never engaged, by a smooth and flexible manner, either in the utterance of his sentiments or the tendency of his address: in the first he was polite and unassuming, though confident and decided; in the latter he was easy without ostentation, and commanding without arrogance. In the court-house, as well as at home, the blind veneration and respectful awe, by no means inconsiderable, which were usually paid to the graces and proud carriage of person, the fascinating richness and gaiety of apparel, and the splendor of equipage, he neither claimed nor desired; brought up and educated altogether free from such vain allurements, he never suffered his native strength of mind and unaffected manly simplicity to yield in the slightest degree to their influence. After Mr. Early went to Congress in 1802, Mr. Crawford might fairly be said to stand at the head of the bar in his circuit.

As a lawyer, he was courteous and liberal. As a speaker, not so much distinguished for fluency or elegance of style, as clearness of illustration and cogency of argument. In a conversation with the writer during his judicial service, he said he did not remember to have lost a case at the bar in which he had had the concluding speech. As a pleader, he was exceedingly neat and accurate. His hand-writing

was large, plain, elegant, and free. He left nothing to be supplied by the clerk; and his opposing counsel might see at the first glance the complaint or defence of his client set forth with a convincing clearness that created a feeling in advance that it must be just. His speeches were always short, rarely exceeding half an hour in any case. He had the faculty of seizing at once upon all the strong points of a case, and presenting each in its natural order with a simplicity, brevity, perspicuity and force, which told with unfailing effect upon the minds of the court and jury. He was always armed with such discrimination as enabled him to detect the least flaw in the argument of his adversary, and no fallacy was allowed to pass unexposed. No incident connected with the testimony, which could be wielded to the advantage of his client or against his opponent, ever escaped the tenacity of his memory. His social intercourse with the members of the profession, whom he considered worthy of his respect, was unrestrained; and many and loud were the roars of laughter that succeeded his well-told anecdotes. His presence was an effectual antidote to dulness; his mirth was irresistible. Stupid, indeed, was the man who could not yield some sparks of intellect when brought into social intercourse with him. Although he left society largely in arrears to him on the score of contribution to social enjoyment, no man was easier pleased, none felt a livelier sympathy in the interests and feelings of others.

Oglethorpe called him four years to represent her in the Legislature, and during that period she found in him a faithful respresentative. Many laws, now of force in the State, bear the impress of his wisdom as a legislator. It was as a member of the Legislature of Georgia that he laid the foundation for that extensive and permanent popularity as a politician which he ever afterwards enjoyed. In 1807 he was elected to the Senate of the United States, to supply the vacancy occasioned by the death of the great, and good, and highly-gifted Abraham Baldwin; and re-elected in 1811 without opposition. On entering the Senate of the United States, Mr. Crawford came in immediate collision with that veteran debater, the Honorable William B. Giles of Virginia. The very creditable manner in which he sustained himself in that contest, won for him, in the outset, a high reputation for talents, which he retained as long as he continued to be a member of that body. Most of those who were numbered in the republican ranks in 1810 and later, even up to 1812, were somewhat distrustful of the navy as a means of national defence, and opposed its considerable enlargement. A very current sentiment of those

days was, that the navy was but too well calculated to embroil us with other nations. It will be remembered that the reduction of the navy was a prominent feature in Mr. Jefferson's administration. It must be confessed that Mr. CRAWFORD participated in this opinion to a considerable extent. But, in common with most of his political friends and associates, its brilliant achievements during the last war, won him over to a more favorable opinion of that department of the public service. In fact, he became a strong advocate of the navy. After the peace, in 1815, one of the first measures adopted, was an act of Congress for the increase of the navy, and an annual appropriation of $1,000,000 to that object. In this measure nine tenths of both houses concurred, and the wisdom and propriety of it received Mr. CRAWFORD'S hearty acquiescence. Shortly after, in one of his reports, he styles the navy "an essential means of national defence." In all questions of appropriation he was the uncompromising advocate of the rule, that the objects and places of expenditure should be distinct and specific, so as to leave as little as possible to executive discretion. He was a warm and decided advocate for an early resort to arms, to redress the injuries and indignities heaped upon this country by Great Britain, and which laid the foundation for the last war. This is manifest from his votes in the Senate upon every question leading to a declaration of war throughout the years 1811 and 1812.

He voted for the bill authorizing fifty thousand volunteers to be received by the President—for increasing the army twenty-five thousand —for an act concerning the navy, fitting out certain frigates; and was friendly to the passage of an act for increasing the navy, passed 2d January 1813, by which the building of four seventy-fours and six forty-four gun frigates was authorized. His vote is to be found recorded for the passage of the law by which war was declared, and uniformly against every proposition for its modification. He was then President, *pro tempore*, of the Senate; and had been elevated to that distinguished station during the session of Congress in which the war was declared, and at a time when no man of equivocal political opinions, or doubtful sentiments, on the question of peace or war, would have been, by a decidedly republican Senate, placed in that dignified office. This will readily account for Mr. CRAWFORD'S not having made a speech in favor of a declaration of war; he was the presiding officer of the Senate, and had been so more than four months; and by the peculiar rule of that body could not, without leaving the station to which he had been called, participate in debate

The embargo, and the bank, formed two other questions of grave

import and high national excitement during his senatorial career. His course upon both was prompt, fearless, and independent. The former he opposed in the teeth of a popular and powerful administration; to the latter he gave a vigorous support, though unqualified opposition to it upon constitutional grounds was at that day, as it still is, one of the tests of republican discipleship. It is known, however, to his intimate friends, that the careful perusal of the secret debates of the convention which framed the constitution, and the debates upon the adoption of that instrument by the States, produced a change in his opinion upon the constitutionality of the bank.

In 1813, after declining the office of Secretary of War, tendered him by President Madison, he was sent minister to the Court of St. Cloud.

The Argus, in which he sailed, under the command of Captain Allen, entered the port of L'Orient the 11th of July, 1813, being twenty-one days from New-York.

What he did during his two years' residence at Paris, is already a matter of recorded history. It is enough to say, in this place, that his official notes evinced the clearest understanding of the questions pending between the two governments, and in them the rights of this country are set forth in the strongest and most imposing light, and pressed upon the empire, and afterwards upon the crown, with a force of logic, a confident boldness, and ceaseless vigilance, worthy of such a cause. During his stay at Paris he was the confidential friend and correspondent of our eminently distinguished negotiators for peace at Ghent.

Among the most pleasing incidents connected with his residence in Paris, was the acquaintance he formed with the hero of two hemispheres, the illustrious La Fayette. It would seem from the letters of this great and good man, which Mr. Crawfrod has preserved with more than his usual care, that their acquaintance ripened into the strongest personal friendship; and that their intercourse was of the most confidential character. In these letters the politics of France are discussed with an unsuspecting freedom on the part of the General, and often with an unsparing severity, rarely surpassed in the interchange of opinions between sworn friends in the freest government on earth. To Mr. Crawford's auspices he principally confided the direction and management of his patents to the land granted him by Congress, in Louisiana, as a small return for his unparalleled sacrifices in the cause of freedom, his timely and efficient aid, and his brilliant achievements in our revolutionary struggle. This correspond-

ence was sustained on both sides with undiminished confidence and cordiality so long as the General lived.

On his return from France in 1815, he found that he had been appointed Secretary of War, in which department he served but a few months. In October following he was made Secretary of the Treasury by Mr. Madison, and was that winter strongly solicited to allow his name to be put in nomination for the Presidency. But he promptly declined, saying that he was young enough to wait, and advised his friends to nominate and support Mr. Monroe. A caucus was held, in which Mr. Monroe received but a small majority of votes as the nominee over Mr. CRAWFORD, though he had so positively declined to allow his name to be run. A number of his strongest and most intimate friends refused to attend the caucus, resolving, as he would not allow them to vote for him, they would vote for no one else. It has often been confidently asserted by a great number of experienced politicians of that day, that if he had permttted his name to be put in nomination at that time, he might have been elected with perfect ease. This, of course, was a calculation founded on the signs of the times, a conclusion which may have been brought about as much by the propulsive power of strong political attachments, as by calm and dispassionate reasoning upon the course of events and the aspect of affairs. They knew that Mr. CRAWFORD could have been nominated without difficulty. The event showed the influence of such a nomination, as it resulted in the election of Mr. Monroe.

In 1817 Mr. CRAWFORD was re-appointed to the office of Secretary of the Treasury by Mr. Monroe, and continued in that office till 1825, when he declined its acceptance under Mr. Adams's administration. Much of the period during which Mr. CRAWFORD acted as Secretary of the Treasury, times were very doubtful—our domestic relations embarrassed—pecuniary difficulties pressing upon the people—home and foreign commerce fluctuating—commercial capital deranged—a public debt to be managed, and, above all, a miserably depreciated and ruined currency had to be dealt with. The political essayists of those days agreed that it required ceaseless vigilance and profound ability to preserve the national estate from bankruptcy. But the public credit was never better at any period of the republic than during his administration of the affairs of the Treasury. The national debt was faithfully discharged, and the burdens of government upon the people were for the most part light and inconsiderable. At the time of greatest difficulty the *estimated* and *actual* receipts of the Treasury only varied ten per cent., while the estimates of his distin-

guished predecessors had varied from seventeen to twenty-one per cent. But perhaps the best evidence of his fidelity, zeal, and ability as cabinet officer in this department, was the length of time he served, the unbounded confidence reposed in him by Mr. Madison and Mr. Monroe during the whole period of his service; the great interest manifested for his retention in that office by Mr. Gallatin; and Mr. J. Q. Adams's opinion of his merit, as evinced in his tendering him that office during his administration. Such men are rarely deceived in their estimate of character and qualifications.

Many believe that Mr. CRAWFORD would have been chosen President in 1825, instead of Mr. Adams, if at the time of his election his health had not been so bad as to induce the belief that he could not survive his disease. He received an honorable vote from the electoral colleges. Whether his defeat were the result of illness or other cause, those who know his family, know that the prospect of retreating into private life, and of enjoying without interruption the society of the father, was hailed as a joyous era in the family history. If it were asserted that Mr. CRAWFORD himself experienced a secret gratification at the result, so far as he was concerned, and so far as his happiness was involved, few would credit the declaration. And yet none would doubt its truth who knew the facts. All believed that the atmosphere of Washington nourished the disease which was wasting his remaining strength and threatening his life; and under such circumstances, the honors of the presidency were as the small dust of the balance compared with the prospect of his restoration of health.

In 1827, after the death of Judge Dooly, Mr. CRAWFORD was appointed by Governor Troup, without solicitation, Judge of the Northern Circuit of Georgia. In 1828 the Legislature elected him to the same office without opposition. Three years after he was a candidate for re-election; and though he had an opponent whose plans for his defeat were well concocted, he obtained his election on the first balloting.

One effect of Mr. CRAWFORD's long and distressing illness, to which allusion has been so often made, was, that it entailed upon him considerably more excitability of temper than he had ever before manifested. He used occasionally to exhibit this new trait of character, which was the offspring of disease, while upon the bench. His greatest annoyance was, what he called a "silly speech;" and though such speeches were of rare occurrence at the bar in his circuit, yet they did sometimes come out, and when they did, the Judge's patience was sure to suffer. Nevertheless he was considered able, upright, and impartial. His distinguishing trait, as a Judge, was, that he would not be tied down to the strict

technicalities of law when they would work a manifest injustice to either of the parties litigant. In such a case he would say, "*Summum jus* is sometimes *summa injuria*, and I must so construe the rule as to do the parties substantial justice." Those of his decisions which were made with deliberation, are considered as high authority as those of any Judge the State has ever had. The case of the State *vs.* Tassels may be mentioned as one of the most important which came before him while upon the bench. It did not originate in his circuit; but having been referred to all the Judges, he was appointed by the rest to write out the opinion. If any should still believe the slander that his mind was made imbecile by his illness at Washington, let him read its refutation in that decision.

He was in the active discharge of the duties of Judge of the Northern Circuit when he died. He set out on his way to Court on Saturday, and was taken sick that night at the house of a friend, and died at 2 o'clock the succeeding Monday morning, being the 15th September, 1834. His physicians were of the opinion that his disease was an affection of the heart. He died apparently without pain or fever. He sleeps at Woodlawn, under a plain mound of earth, without tombstone or inscription; and no one near him but a little grandson of two years old, who had preceded him by about fifteen months.

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Jon.a Williams

JONATHAN WILLIAMS.

It is an agreeable task to commemorate a virtuous and useful life. If it be a worldly favor to the hand that presents the sword of honor to the victor, or the decoration to successful merit, it is a quiet, but not less grateful privilege, to be, to the deserving, the channel of their remembrance and praise.

Jonathan Williams, the father of the subject of this memoir, was a merchant in Boston, much respected and largely engaged there in commercial affairs. He was among the patriots of Massachusetts who took part in the struggle of the colonists against Great Britain; and in 1774 was chairman of the memorable meeting at Faneuil Hall in Boston, where it was voted "that the tea should not be landed; that no duty should be paid on it; and that it should be sent back to England in the ships which had conveyed it to this country." This may show that he was an approved whig, and an influential citizen. A further allusion to this incident may be given more appropriately hereafter.

Jonathan Williams, his son, was born in Boston, in the year 1750, and received from his childhood, the best English education which the opportunities of that place then afforded. Intended for the profession of his father, he was taken from school before his studies were completed, and placed in a counting-house. Anxious to improve himself, he devoted his evenings and other leisure moments to the acquirement of knowledge; in this manner he gained considerable proficiency in the classics, and a ready and familiar acquaintance with the French language, both in speaking and writing it. In the course of his commercial pursuits, he made many voyages, in which he visited most of the West-India Islands, as well as various parts of Europe. His letters from these places, upon business and of general reflection, display much maturity of observation and judgment. In the year 1770, he first went to England with his brother, and an uncle, Mr. John Williams, who had been a local commissioner under the British government. On his arrival in

London, he was received with the greatest kindness by Dr. Franklin (who was his grand-uncle,) and taken by him to his house, which he insisted should be his residence during his stay in England. Having remained about a year in that country, and travelled during that time through a considerable part of it, Mr. Williams returned to America. In 1773, he again went to England. In consequence of his connection with Dr. Franklin, he was intrusted, on his various commercial voyages to and from his country, with letters and communications, on the then engrossing subject of the political relations between England and America; by this means he became acquainted with the prominent men of that day, and though then very young, in mental cultivation and resources, he was their fit companion.

In a letter written about the year 1774, and addressed to his father, he says, "After seeing my merchants, I went to see the doctor, (Franklin,) whom I found in exceeding good health and spirits; and was welcomed by him with a degree of joy and affection, which surpassed even the expectations I had formed from the former proofs I received of extensive goodness and friendship. I waited on my uncle, but he was not at home,—went then to Lord Dartmouth's, (colonial secretary,) at whose levee I met my uncle. After sending my name and business, I was immediately admitted to his lordship, who received me with great politeness. When he had read the letters, he asked me many questions, which I answered as well as I was able. I told him of the opinion of the people, their firmness, their determination, and their intention of a junction of the colonies; which I delivered, perhaps not in polite, but in American language. I left out nothing which I thought would give his lordship a true idea of the importance and virtue of the Americans; and having the strictest truth for my guide, I was not in the least confused nor abashed, but spoke as I would to any other man. He heard me with great politeness; and although I frequently discovered a sense of the impropriety of the administration, he seemed pleased. He then asked me my private opinion. 'Mr. Williams,' said he, 'I wish to come at truth; and as a man alone, shall be glad of your sentiments with regard to the disposition of the Americans. I ask it as a private gentleman; this conversation is confidential; and, you may depend, I shall make no public use of what you may tell me.' I made some little apology for my inferiority in point of abilities, but said, that as he had assured me we were private gentlemen, I would relate to him all I knew; but being unused to elegant addresses, I should presume on his indulgence, and deliver my sentiments in my own unadorned way, and

endeavor to utter simple truths, without confounding the matter, by seeking to embellish the manner. I then told him that the Americans never would submit; that they would not be surprised when the other acts should arrive; that they expected the worst, and were accordingly prepared; that I believed the junction would take place; and that they thought now or never was the time; that they supposed by submission they would make themselves the most abject slaves on earth; and that by opposition they could not be worse; that parliament had no right to tax them; that they would die by this opinion; and that a universal non-exportation agreement would be attended with salutary effects. His lordship, after some time, asked me if I knew 'Mr. Williams, who appears as moderator of that assembly,' (the meeting at Faneuil Hall.) 'He is my father, my lord.' 'And is your father a principal in those disturbances! Mr. Williams, how comes that, sir?' 'My father, my lord, is an honest man, and one who seeks not fame. He was in that meeting as any other man might be, and when chosen, was much surprised; he excused himself as being unacquainted with the office; and on the motion being put, and passed in the negative, he therefore officiated. My father, my lord, has been so little, heretofore, engaged in political disputes, that I was as much surprised as I should be, had your lordship been in the desk. But, my lord, I am only relating facts: it is not for me to dispute on the merit or demerit of my father's conduct, but I am sure he acted according to the dictates of his conscience, and upon honest principle; and thus acting, I hope your lordship will not think him wrong, though you may not agree in sentiment.' He smiled, and after paying me a compliment for my plainness and freedom, said, laughingly, 'So, then, your father may say with Falstaff, 'some men are in pursuit of honors, but others have honors in pursuit of them.'"

Again, in a letter written in September, 1774, he says, "With regard to politics, nothing has occurred; nor do I think any thing will happen till the parliament sits, when I dare say there will be warm work, and I have great hope that American affairs will wear a better aspect; for the ministry, I have reason to think, will find a greater opposition than they expect. Unanimity and firmness must gain the point. I can't help repeating it, though I believe I have written it twenty times before. The newspapers, which used to be the vehicles of all kinds of abuse on the poor Bostonians, are now full of pieces in our favor. Here and there an impertinent scribbler, like an expiring candle flashing from the socket, shows,

by his scurrility, the weakness of his cause, and the corruptness of his heart."

In the following year he made a short visit to France, of which, in one of his letters, dated London, May 5, 1775, he thus speaks. It is deemed proper to extract from it; for it contains a forecast of events which history soon after proved literally true. He says, "I have passed two months in the most agreeable manner possible, except with regard to my reflections relative to my unhappy country, which always attend me wherever I go. I found throughout France, a general attention to our disputes with Britain, and to a man, all that country are in our favor. They suppose England to have arrived at its pinnacle of glory, and that the empire of America will rise on the ruins of this kingdom; and I really believe, that when we shall be involved in civil war, they will gladly embrace the first opportunity of renewing their attacks on an old enemy, who they imagine will be so weakened by its internal broils, as to become an easy conquest. Although I profess myself an American, I am still an Englishman; I only wish the titles to be synonymous; and therefore do not hope for the destruction of this country; I only wish the prosperity of my own; and that its rights and privileges may ever remain inviolate; to secure which, no sacrifice should be thought too dear: so I do not give the French so much credit for their partiality, for I believe it to proceed in general more from a hatred to England, than a love to us; though in some particulars, I believe the natural rights of humanity are the basis of their opinions."

With the hope peculiar to the buoyant spirit of youth, that the differences between the two countries would still be justly settled, and that the firmness of his country would produce its desired effect upon the British government and people, Mr. Williams had nearly completed a mercantile connection with a West-India house of large capital and extensive trade, when the political separation of the two countries induced him to quit England and reside in France. His determination and views are expressed in a letter from Nantes, in 1777. "When I wrote to you from England, I was in the expectation of taking up my residence in that country. The scene is now changed; and since it became a question, which of the two countries I would prefer in a separate state, I did not hesitate to quit all my lucrative views, and to come hither, to do all the service I can, without expectation of further emolument than a subsistence. It is not improbable, that I shall engage in the American trade in some part of France, or return to some part of America, charged

with the management of commercial matters. Whatever I do in this way will be upon a large scale, and whilst I am doing essential service to my country, I may advance my own fortune. In this, however, I make a distinction; whatever I am capable of doing for the benefit of the cause, I will undertake with pleasure, gratis; but otherwise, in all commercial engagements with individuals of another nation." Let it be added, that at this time he numbered Robert Morris, of Pennsylvania, among his American correspondents, and that his letters to that eminent man are filled with similar good sense and love of country, to those already given.

The early destiny of Mr. Williams separated him from the land, whose struggle for freedom deeply and constantly interested him — from the country to which he afterwards lived to devote years of usefulness and good example; but the resolve, contained in the letter last quoted, of help, however humble, to that country, is most honorable to him. It is known that the young American merchant strictly fulfilled it. About this period, he was appointed commercial agent of the United States, and resided principally at Nantes. In September, 1779, he was married to Mariamne, the daughter of William Alexander, formerly of Edinburgh, at the hotel of the Dutch ambassador at Paris; Dr. Franklin, then minister from the United States, being present at the ceremony. In 1783, he received a commission from the Farmers General of France, to supply them with tobacco, which was then, as it now is, a government monopoly. After this appointment, he removed to St. Germain's, where he resided until 1785, when he returned with Dr. Franklin to the United States. He remained in this country about four years, arranging his mercantile affairs; a task which, in consequence of the uncertain state of the commercial world, was attended with difficulties and pecuniary sacrifices. He sailed for England for the last time in 1788, for the purpose of bringing his family to Philadelphia, which he had selected as the place of his future residence. This determination was induced by his desire to be near his earliest, best, and kindest friend, Dr. Franklin: but he was met on his return in 1790, with the melancholy news of the death of that eminent man, which had taken place a short time before. He purchased a country seat on the banks of the Schuylkill, near Philadelphia, where he lived in the enjoyment of every social and domestic tie; diversifying his employments, in the duties of a useful citizen, and in the pursuit of those studies congenial to his mind. Mathematical investigation, botany, medicine,—the law itself,—were all included in his quiet but

vigorous habits of research; and he acquired enough of the last mentioned science, to be, for several years, an intelligent and valuable judge of the court of common pleas in Philadelphia.

In 1794, he accompanied the forces sent to quell the western insurrection in Pennsylvania.

The talent for investigation possessed by Mr. Williams has been alluded to; let an instance be given, where this habit resulted in good to the public. In consequence of his connection with the American post-office, Dr. Franklin had occasion to notice the fact, that the English packets were generally two weeks longer in crossing the Atlantic than the American vessels. An old sea-captain explained this to him, by observing that the commanders of the former were entirely ignorant of the limits, and almost of the existence, of the gulf-stream, and had therefore to overcome a strong current, which was carefully avoided by our countrymen: he mentioned at the same time, that the current might always be discovered by the warmth of the water, which was much greater than that of the surrounding ocean. This suggestion Dr. Franklin carefully remembered; and in his several voyages across the Atlantic, made regular experiments with the thermometer, to ascertain the width and direction of the gulf-stream, which were afterwards communicated to the American Philosophical Society. [Am. Phil. Trans., Vol. II., p. 314.] Mr. Williams, who had accompanied him on one of his voyages, and assisted him in his experiments, determined to repeat these experiments in his future voyages. He did so, and found that the water, out of soundings, was about ten degrees warmer than that on the coast; and it at once occurred to him that the thermometer might become a useful nautical instrument, for purposes far more important than the discovery of currents. He repeated these experiments, until he ascertained beyond all doubt the accuracy of his first supposition; and the result was laid before the American Philosophical Society, in the year 1790. [Am. Phil. Trans., Vol. III., p. 82.]

He there shows most clearly, that the water over banks is colder than that of the main ocean, in the inverse ratio of its depth; and that by the simple use of the thermometer, vessels may guard against unseen dangers, and approach a coast with a security previously unknown. The importance of this discovery is at present beyond controversy; and every navigator is now furnished with marine thermometers, as an indispensable part of his equipment.

In the year 1800, Mr. Williams was appointed a major in the U. S. Artillery; and soon after, a colonel in the corps of Engineers,

and chief of the Military Academy at West Point. He devoted himself to the discharge of the duties of his appointment; the fortress at New York, which bears his name, as well as most of the forts of our country, constructed whilst he was in the Engineer department, were sketched and completed by him, and by the officers under his direction.

It is, however, as the head of the Military Academy, that he probably rendered his most direct and continued service to his country. This institution, first suggested by Washington, and established by Jefferson, proved to Colonel WILLIAMS a fit theatre for the employment of his talents. With a mind stored with much scientific and general information, with great decision of character, and extensive knowledge of the world, he was, from the first of his command at West Point, a pledge of its purpose and success. As an officer, he furnished by his industry, exactness, and patience, an accomplished example to those whose military education he superintended. Under his direction, the institution steadily advanced in character; and all who were acquainted with its regulations and discipline, acknowledged its advantages. But it was not until the close of the war of 1812, that its influence was seen and felt by the country at large. It was not until the heroic deeds of M'Rae, Gibson, Wood, and Macomb, and other gallant young men, had so largely contributed to an honorable peace, that the military school became a source of interest and pride with the nation. Those accomplished and intrepid officers were first taught to be *thorough soldiers* by Colonel WILLIAMS. Some of these died on the field of battle, with a glory which he was instrumental in giving them the ambition and power to achieve. Others, high in rank and honor, live to remember the value of his former instructions. We have just alluded to the departed brave; let us go back for a moment, and appropriately remember another gallant youth whom he educated at West Point, and who was bound to him by the two-fold tie of pupilage and filial love. Captain Alexander J. Williams died on his country's ramparts, in the midnight carnage at Fort Erie. His veteran father read his loss on the page of history; but on the same page he might also read, that the commanding general, when recording that bloody battle, paused in the very flush of triumph, to tell the valor and deplore the death of his "favorite."*

* See official letter of Major General Gaines, August 15, 1814.

Prevented by his peculiar station from sharing the immediate duties of the field, Colonel Williams had obtained a promise, that in case of attack, the fortifications he constructed in the harbor of New York should be placed under his command. At the near prospect that the enemy would invade that city, he claimed the fulfilment of that promise. He received a refusal; grounded, it is believed, on the consideration that officers of the engineer corps had no right to a command over troops of the line. The soldier's feeling, in that which concerns his reputation and just pride, is seldom subject to general rule; and, in the ardent belief that both of these were involved in the defence of the post alluded to, Colonel Williams, in the year 1812, after a protracted correspondence upon the subject with the war department, resigned his commission in the army of the United States.

Immediately after his resignation, he received an appointment from the governor of New York, of brigadier-general in her forces. It was an uncommon tribute to a citizen of another state, and was conferred in testimony of his worth and character. He returned to his residence near Philadelphia; but he was soon called from his chosen retirement by the committee of safety, to superintend the erecting of fortifications in his neighborhood, on the west bank of the Schuylkill, which was faithfully executed.

In the autumn of 1814, he was elected a member of congress from the city of Philadelphia. He lived not to requite, by his experience and abilities, the confidence of his fellow citizens.

On the 20th of May, 1815, his diligent and honorable life was calmly terminated. He had yet attained only his sixty-fifth year. His mind had lost none of its peculiar endowments; nor had his body yielded to the decrepitude of age. In the highest council of our country, he might have added to his honors, and won a statesman's fame. But the hand of the Unseen, who disposes all things, now closed the career, and by his touch consecrated the memory of the useful citizen, the firm patriot, and the accomplished soldier.

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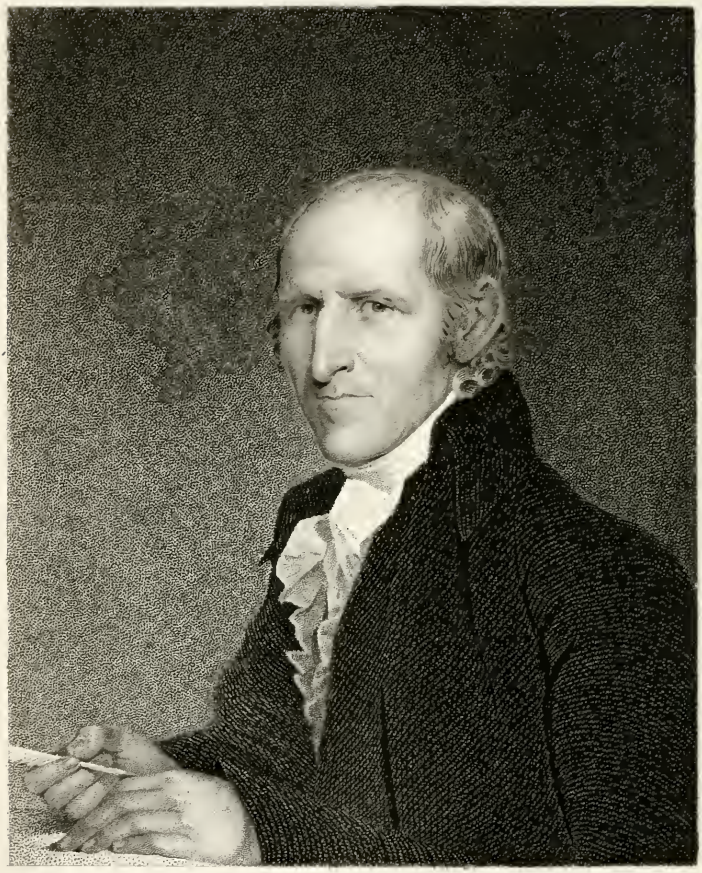

T. Pickering.

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

It has often been remarked that great occasions are required to produce great men,—it would, perhaps, be more precisely accurate to say, that great men can only be brought into striking positions, and presented conspicuously to view, on great occasions. There is, it is probable, nearly an equal proportion of intellectual and moral energy diffused throughout each generation, and existing at every period. In seasons of tranquillity and repose, there is but little to distinguish one individual from another beyond the range of private observation; but when circumstances of an agitating nature are in operation, each individual catches a portion of the general excitement, and distinct direction is given to the development of his character.

We find, accordingly, that the eventful era of the American revolution was fruitful in great men. They sprang up in every quarter; and presented in the qualities of their minds and the circumstances of their lives, a spectacle of infinite variety. In this numerous and interesting assemblage, there was none whose history and character were more marked by strong, impressive, and distinguishing traits, than the subject of this memoir.

Timothy Pickering was born in Salem, Massachusetts, on the 17th July, 1745. The family had emigrated from England at a very early period, and maintained from the beginning, as it does to this hour, a high degree of respectability and influence. The name of Pickering was distinguished in the field as well as in the senate, throughout the contests for liberty in the mother country, which resulted in the establishment of the commonwealth; and its representatives in America have always been found among the most resolute and unwavering advocates of the same cause, from the earliest settlement of the colony of Massachusetts, until its triumph was secured by the successful issue of the revolution.

At the age of fourteen, he became a member of Harvard university in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and received the honors of the college

in 1763. Upon leaving the university, and entering the scenes of active life, he found himself in the midst of influences, which attracted his attention to the great subjects of the rights of the people and the powers of the government. The controversy between Great Britain and her colonies was then beginning to awaken a lively and universal interest, and his ardent and energetic mind became deeply engaged in its progress, and intensely alive to the momentous importance of its issue.

The same fervent zeal for liberty and truth, which led him to enter with such spirit into the political questions of the day, seemed to actuate him on all occasions, during the whole course of his life. In the political movements of the times, he was engaged in the various committees and meetings of the whigs in Salem and its vicinity; and his powerful pen was employed in drawing up their correspondence, memorials, remonstrances, and resolutions. His productions of this kind, are among the best specimens of the political literature of the period.

Before the war broke out, he was elected register of deeds by the citizens of the county of Essex; and was appointed by the provisional government of Massachusetts, a judge of the court of common pleas. He was also appointed sole judge of the admiralty court, established in pursuance of an act of the general congress, for the district in which he resided, until after the commencement of hostilities; when he resigned it for the more urgent and perilous duties of the camp.

His clear and sagacious mind foresaw that the controversy would soon and inevitably reach that point, when it would be necessary to put it to the issue of the bayonet, and he exerted himself to prepare his countrymen for the emergency.

As colonel of the Essex militia, he devoted himself to the acquisition of a thorough knowledge of military tactics, and labored to diffuse it among his subaltern officers, and throughout his command. He published a work on the subject; and in a spirit in harmony with that of his valiant and pious puritan ancestors, and congenial with the whole history of his own life, he went at regular and frequent intervals for a long period, (and of course at a great expense of time and money,) to Marblehead, a distance of five miles, for the double purpose of disciplining and drilling the inhabitants in the art of war, to defend their country from its enemies; and of instructing them in sacred music, in the exercises of which he took unabated delight to the day of his death; that in their religious assemblies they might offer a more acceptable and effectual worship to Him who is the God

of Battles, and in whose arm they were to put their trust, in the unequal and awful conflict then impending. In the year 1774, the "Boston Port Bill" was passed by the British parliament; and at the same time, the seat of the colonial government was removed to Salem. The inhabitants of the latter place, having reason to suspect that the government relied upon securing their support by thus transferring to them the advantages of being the metropolis, and the great commercial emporium of the province; thought it their duty to undeceive them on this point, as soon as possible. A town meeting was called, and an address voted to General Gage, expressive of the noble and disinterested sentiments of the people, and concluding with the following words: "By shutting up the port of Boston, some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither, and to our benefit; but nature, in the formation of our harbor, forbid our becoming rivals in commerce with that convenient mart; and were it otherwise, we must be dead to every idea of justice, lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to seize on wealth, and raise our fortunes on the ruins of our suffering neighbors'."

This address was written by Colonel PICKERING, and he was instructed by his fellow-citizens to deliver it in person to the governor.

The memorable distinction of conducting the first resistance in arms to the power of the mother country, fell to the lot of Colonel PICKERING. On Sunday, the 26th February, 1775, while the inhabitants of Salem were assembled in their usual places of worship, an express from Marblehead brought intelligence, that a regiment of British troops were landing from a transport ship, and preparing to march through Salem, to take possession of some military stores, deposited in the interior of the county. The people were instantly dismissed from their churches, and assembled on the drawbridge, with such means of resistance as were at hand, where they awaited the approach of Colonel Leslie and his regiment. On their arrival at the bridge the draw was raised. Colonel PICKERING presented himself on the opposite side, at the head of the multitude, and a small body of minute-men, drawn up in battle array. He informed Colonel Leslie that the military stores he had come to seize, were the property of the people, and that they would not be surrendered without a struggle. Colonel Leslie then ordered his men to get into a large gondola, attached to the wharf, and in that way secure a passage over the narrow stream. In a moment, Joseph Sprague, Esq., the owner of the boat, and at that time, the major of the Essex

regiment, sprang on board, beat a hole through her side, and sunk her to the bottom. While effecting his purpose he was wounded by the bayonets of the enemy, thus shedding the first blood of the revolution. While these events were taking place, the parties were fast reaching such a degree of exasperation, as would have brought on a general and sanguinary conflict. At this juncture, the Reverend Mr. Barnard interposed, and by his judicious persuasions prevented the approaching catastrophe. He represented to Colonel Leslie that the day was so far spent, that he would not be able to reach the place were the stores were deposited, before night, even if the draw were then let down, and that such was the determined spirit of the militia and people in general, that a passage could not be forced without great carnage on both sides. Colonel Leslie at last concluded to send a message to Colonel PICKERING, pledging his honor, that if he would let him pass the bridge, so that it might appear a voluntary act on his part, he would abandon the attempt to seize the stores, and immediately after passing the bridge, turn back again towards Marblehead. Colonel PICKERING ordered his armed men, and the assembled multitude, to arrange themselves on both sides of the road, facing inwards, the draw was let down, the British regiment marched through the silent ranks of the patriots, advanced a few rods beyond the bridge, countermarched, returned with a quick step to Marblehead, reembarked, and set sail from the harbor that night.

On the 19th of April, of the same year, the war began at Lexington and Concord. While transacting business in his office as register of deeds, Colonel PICKERING received information through a militia officer of Danvers, the town adjacent to Salem on the road to Lexington, of the passage of the British troops towards Concord. He instantly despatched an order to the Danvers company to march towards the scene of the expected conflict; and called together as many of the inhabitants of Salem, as he could collect in the streets. They were of opinion, that as the day was then so far advanced, and the distance so great, it would not be possible for them to render any essential service on the occasion. It was, however, concluded, that it would be best to commence the march, if for no other reason, at least to give evidence of their disposition to encourage, and if possible, aid their brethren who were nearer the scene of action, in defending their property from violence and their soil from invasion. Colonel PICKERING accordingly led them on, and, after a rapid and fatiguing march of more than twenty miles, arrived at the close of the day, just in time to witness the retreat of the British through Charleston.

In the year 1776, five thousand men were called for from Massachusetts, to recruit the army, of which number seven hundred was the portion allotted to Essex county. Colonel PICKERING assembled his regiment within the walls of the First Church in Salem, made known the dangers and the wants of the country, exhorted his men to offer their services to the common cause, and at the close of his address, stepped forward as a volunteer. His example was quickly followed, and he soon appeared at the head of a regiment, at the quarters of the commander-in-chief, in New Jersey, who, with his usual discernment, selected him for the office of adjutant general; and he continued in this and other stations, closely attached to the person of Washington, and in the full enjoyment of his confidence, through all the perils and vicissitudes of the war, and the equally trying scenes of his administration of the government to the very close of his public life. Colonel PICKERING was elected by congress a member of the "Continental Board of War;" and when General Greene resigned the highly important post of quarter-master general, he was appointed his successor, at the suggestion of Roger Sherman. At the end of the war, he fixed his residence in Philadelphia, and was soon after deputed by the government of Pennsylvania, to visit their remote interior settlements, for the purpose of adjusting a violent and dangerous controversy, occasioned by the claims of certain emigrants from Connecticut. This commission called for all his courage and resolution, and he discharged his duty with great firmness and success. As illustrative of the angry and lawless passions to which he was exposed, the following facts deserve to be related: his residence was at this time in the celebrated "Vale of Wyoming," near what is now Wilkesbarre. In the month of June, 1788, a gang of ruffians, dressed in disguise, with their faces painted black, tore him from his bed at midnight, pinioned his arms, and conveyed him into the depths of the forest; there they subjected him to privation and ill treatment in a great variety of forms, fastened heavy chains upon his limbs, and repeatedly threatened to take his life. After exhausting all their arts and efforts, in a vain attempt to extort promises, in opposition to what he deemed his duty in the discharge of the trust reposed in him, they concluded not to dip their hands in his blood, and released him from his confinement. At the end of twenty days from his sudden abduction, he reappeared in the midst of his family, who had given up all expectation of ever again seeing him alive. So much was he altered by the sufferings and hardships he had endured, that his children fled from his presence, affrighted

by his haggard, unshaven appearance, and his wife looked upon him with consternation, as upon an apparition.

Colonel PICKERING was a member of the convention called in 1790, to revise the constitution of the state of Pennsylvania, and maintained a highly respectable standing in that distinguished body. He was particularly active in promoting the cause of education, and procured the insertion of the following article: "The legislature shall, as soon as conveniently may be, provide by law for the establishment of schools throughout the state, in such manner that the poor may be taught gratis."

In 1791, President Washington appointed him postmaster general, which office he held until the close of the year 1794. About this time, he was charged with several very important negotiations with the Indians, and was sole agent to treat with those tribes, collectively known as the "Six Nations." On the resignation of General Knox, in 1794, he was made secretary of war, and in 1795, he was appointed by Washington his secretary of state; this office he continued to hold until the month of May, 1800, when he was removed by President John Adams.

Upon leaving the department of state, he returned to his farm in Wyoming county, Pennsylvania, then near the borders of settlement, and devoted himself to the toilsome labors of felling the forest, and cultivating the untilled soil. From this humble seclusion, he was allured by his friends in Massachusetts, who prevailed upon him to return to his native state. By their spontaneous liberality, he was enabled to discharge a considerable debt that had accumulated while he was engaged in the service of his country; and to purchase a small farm in the county of Essex, which he continued to cultivate and superintend to the time of his death. He was elected to the senate of the United States by the legislature of Massachusetts in 1803, and again in 1805. At the expiration of his second term in 1811, he turned his attention exclusively to agriculture. Soon after, he was again drawn into public life, as a member of the "Executive Council;" and also, as a member of the Board of War, appointed in Massachusetts, to protect the state from invasion. In 1814, he was elected to the house of representatives of the United States from the district in which he resided, and finally retired from public office in 1817. He died in Salem, the place of his residence, on the 29th of January, 1829. Agricultural pursuits, an extensive literary and political correspondence, the conversation and company of his friends, the affairs and interests of his immediate neighborhood, and such

objects of a more general nature, as would be likely to engage the attention of a liberal and active mind, and a generous and philanthropic heart, gave employment and vivacity to his last years. His old age, spent in the tranquil and undisturbed society of his family and relatives, was such as might well be desired by the patriot and Christian. He buried his wife not long before his own departure. She united all that is lovely, with all that is venerable, and was every way worthy of being the companion of his life, and the sharer of his trials and his honors. His printed writings on agricultural, political, and miscellaneous subjects, are numerous; and at the time of his death, he was thoroughly preparing himself, to give to the public, a biography of his friend, Alexander Hamilton; a task undertaken at the request of the family of that great man.

Colonel Pickering inherited from his ancestors a sound and vigorous constitution, and enjoyed through life an uncommon degree of health and strength. His frame was large and athletic, and his figure, countenance, and manners, combined in suggesting the noble energy and Roman fortitude of his character to every beholder. His death, which occurred after a brief illness, was occasioned by a disease in the larger blood vessels near the heart; and although then in his eighty-fourth year, he had experienced none of the infirmities, either physical or mental, usually attendant upon old age.

The qualities of his mind corresponded with those of his body. To whatever subject his thoughts were turned, the most striking views of which it was susceptible were instantly presented. Both in speaking and writing, his style was unrivalled for the simplicity, closeness, and strength of its structure, and the purity and correctness of its language. But it was in his conversational powers that he particularly excelled his contemporaries. It was the enviable privilege of his friends, to contemplate in his admirable descriptions of men, manners, and transactions, a representation of the scenes and circumstances of his long and eventful life, almost as vivid and distinct, as they could have been to an actual, original observer. The integrity of his heart and life were acknowledged and admired, even by his opponents. From childhood to old age, temperance, industry, sincerity, benevolence, honor, and truth, guided his conduct. Although he had been to a very great extent exposed to the allurement of camps and courts, neither a stain nor a shadow was ever cast upon the purity of his heart, the innocence of his life, or the simplicity of his manners. Well did he deserve the tribute which was drawn from the late John Randolph on the floor of congress:

"No man in the United States," said that extraordinary individual, "has been more misunderstood, no man more reviled, than Alexander Hamilton, unless, perhaps, the venerable member from Massachusetts, who generally sits in *that* seat, and whom, whatever may be said of him, all will allow to be an honest man. The other day, when on the compensation question, he was speaking of his own situation; when his voice faltered and his eyes filled at the mention of his poverty; I thought I would have given the riches of Dives himself for his feelings at the moment—for his poverty was not the consequence of idleness, or extravagance, or luxury, nor of the gambling spirit of speculation: it was an honorable poverty after a life spent in laborious service, and in the highest offices of trust under government, during the war of independence, as well as under the present constitution."

Colonel PICKERING was a sincere, thorough, and consistent republican, in his principles, habits, feelings, and manners. He appreciated the value of his own rights, and was ever as ready to protect the rights of others as his own. Reason and revelation both taught him, that we are all of one blood, brethren and equals. The Bible was the object of his habitual study and meditation, and the religion which he had examined and professed in his early manhood, received his obedience and support through a long life, and was found an all-sufficient source of comfort, resignation, peace, and satisfaction, on the bed of death. The memory and example of such a man are among the most precious possessions of his countrymen. His name will be more and more honored, as the lapse of time removes him from the shadow of those clouds of error, prejudice, and passion, which always encompass the passing generation. Even now, the youthful scholar, as he gazes on the noble features of TIMOTHY PICKERING, while exploring the history of the American revolution, proudly acknowledges and ardently admires an assemblage of private and civic virtues, which Plutarch would have rejoiced to commemorate. As he thinks of the venerable patriot bending over his plough, and literally earning his bread by the sweat of his face; the image of Cincinnatus, the great Roman, rises before him; and when he considers his unsullied and unassailable integrity, truth, and justice, Aristides, the good Athenian, seems to be in his presence. But when he contemplates in his single character, their virtues combined, and the whole adorned, illuminated, and hallowed, by the bright and heavenly radiance of the Gospel, he exclaims, "Cedite Romani****** Cedite Graii."

THE NEW YORK
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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

J. J. Johnston

JOSIAH S. JOHNSTON.

Josiah Stoddard Johnston, for many years the representative of the state of Louisiana in the senate of the United States, was a native of Connecticut. He was born on the 25th of November, 1784, at Salisbury, a town in the north-western corner of the state, pleasantly situated among the declivities of the Green mountains, and near the falls of the Housatonic river. He was the eldest son of Dr. John Johnston, a physician of eminence, who had married Miss Mary Stoddard, a young lady connected with the highly respectable family of the same name, long settled in that part of New England. When his son was about six years old, Dr. Johnston removed with his family to Kentucky, at that time not yet admitted into the Union, and still exposed to the hardships of a newly settled country, and the warlike incursions of the Indians. He selected as his place of residence the county of Mason, then just laid out, on the banks of the Ohio river, and at a plantation near the town of Washington, on which he first settled, he continued to live until his death, in 1831. His son was sent back to Connecticut when about twelve years of age, and remained there, at school, for some time. He acquired an excellent education, the evidence of which appears in the strength, clearness, and simplicity of his style, as a writer and public speaker, and was displayed through life in his conversation, and in his fondness for literary pursuits. After his return to Kentucky, he was graduated at Transylvania university, then lately founded at Lexington, and soon after commenced the study of the law with Mr. Nicholas, a leading member of the bar. He entered on the practice of the law in Mason county, but after a short time passed there, he resolved to try his fortunes on the new and wide theatre which was opening for ambition and enterprise, in the south-western portion of the Union.

In the early part of the year 1805, Mr. Johnston repaired to Natchez, and remained a short time, with a view to select that spot which should appear most desirable as his future residence. Lou-

isiana, lately obtained from the French, was still under a territorial government, and except along the borders of the Mississippi, but very thinly inhabited and very little known. In the interior, a few forts originally established by the French colonists on the principal streams, had led to the rise of small villages; but these were remote from each other, and the intermediate country was in the possession of the Indians, or the first settlers, who had here and there taken possession of spots which seemed to promise more than usual advantage, either from their situation or the excellence of the soil. He chose the country through which the Red river passes, one that he foresaw was destined to increase rapidly in population and wealth; and, after a short visit to Natchitoches, ultimately fixed himself at Alexandria, a town in the parish Rapides, the site of an old Indian village. This continued to be the place of his permanent residence until his death, a period of nearly thirty years.

When Mr. JOHNSTON arrived at Alexandria, he found himself in the midst of a country, rich indeed in all that nature could bestow of fertility of soil and resources for prosperity and wealth, but thinly inhabited, far from the comforts and advantages of regions longer known, with few of the useful restraints which laws and population impose, and peopled by men who sought rapidly to increase their fortunes, or who preferred the life of adventure held out to them, to the less exciting pursuits they had left. The rural occupiers of the territory had acquired very much the manners and habits of life that were displayed by the hunters; and a large portion of the French and Spanish colonists had grown up in those rude and lawless habits, which are natural on a frontier constantly liable to invasion by the savages. Under the former government they were far removed, not only from the restraints, but the protection of the laws, and they had become accustomed to maintain their social relations by reliance on their individual prowess, rather than by appeal or submission to the laws. The territorial government of the United States could have possessed but small authority in that remote and thinly peopled region, even had it been completely organized, and in peaceable progress; but instead of this, it had to encounter the insurrectionary movements which were made at that time in the Valley of the Mississippi; and it was, besides, in a state of very imperfect and inefficient organization. Among a population thus constituted, Mr. JOHNSTON, at the age of twenty-one, commenced the career of active life. He was the daily witness of affrays and personal contests—of the ebullitions of a rude and violent people; he was himself a man of much

personal courage, as well as of a manly and resolute spirit; yet he soon acquired among his neighbors a popularity and influence which he never lost. His firmness, discretion, and strict sense of justice preserved him, in those troublesome times, from unfortunate collisions which few escaped; and they afforded him a still more gratifying source of pleasure and pride, by making him, on innumerable occasions, the successful umpire and mediator in occurrences, which, without such friendly aid, might have led to unfortunate and fatal results.

Self-dependant, full of patriotic spirit, devoted to his profession, desirous of an independence, the result of his own exertions, and ambitious of an honorable fame, he devoted himself, with indefatigable industry, to his business as a lawyer, extending his range of practice far into the adjoining districts, and subjecting himself without hesitation to every personal inconvenience. When the first territorial legislature assembled at New Orleans, he was elected a delegate from the parish where he lived, and he continued to hold his seat there, until the admission of Louisiana into the Union, in the year 1812. During this period, he was regarded as one of the leading members of the assembly, useful from his industry and practical knowledge, and obtaining general confidence from his candid and honorable character.

As soon as the new government went into operation, he was appointed a judge of the district in which he resided, embracing the parish of Rapides, and several others adjoining it. When, however, Louisiana was invaded by the British, at the close of the war, he employed himself with his neighbors in raising a regiment of volunteers; he purchased with his own money a large quantity of arms and ammunition; and, being himself placed in command, hastened to New Orleans. The decisive and gallant victory of the 8th of January, 1815, had, however, occurred in the mean time, so that he was unable to participate in the glories of that action; but he was directed by General Jackson to superintend the removal of the wounded prisoners to the hospitals, a duty congenial to his kind disposition, which he performed with great promptness and skill. Shortly afterwards he returned to Alexandria, to resume his judicial functions, and these he continued to exercise until the year 1821, with increased respect and confidence on the part of his fellow citizens. At the close of the war he married a highly accomplished and amiable lady of Louisiana, since eminently distinguished in all the various scenes in which she has been placed, throughout her husband's long and successful public career. She was the daughter

of Dr. John Sibley, of Natchitoches, a gentleman for many years resident in that remote country, from whose observations upon it much useful scientific information has been derived, and who has represented its interests in several important situations with great ability.

In the year 1821, Mr. Johnston was called upon to serve his fellow citizens on a broader field, by being elected a representative in the seventeenth congress of the United States. From that period until his death, his name is connected with the principal political events of the times, always preserving the same character of public usefulness and private excellence. He soon showed himself too able a supporter of the interests of his constituents, and too intelligent a statesman, to be overlooked by those whom he served. After his term as a representative expired, in the year 1823, he was elected to the senate of the United States, to supply the vacancy occasioned by the appointment of his friend, Mr. Brown, as minister to France. That term expiring, he was reëlected to the same place in the year 1825, and again in the year 1831, on the latter occasion being chosen by a legislature in which the majority were of a party opposed to himself, but among whom the integrity, ability, and patriotism for which he was distinguished, outweighed all political predilections. It is well known, that twice during this period it was the wish of his friends to offer him the nomination of governor of Louisiana, an office to which he might reasonably have aspired, with every chance of success; but he believed that his services could be more usefully rendered in the place he held, and where such was the case, no motive of personal ambition could have induced him voluntarily to change it.

While Mr. Johnston was in congress, he took part in most of the important topics that occupied the attention of that body. For several years, he filled with great ability the place of chairman of the committee on commerce, and, as such, made a report on the state of our trade with the British colonies, abounding with very valuable information, and containing many important suggestions in regard to that interesting dispute. These he sustained in a speech, which, whatever opinion may be entertained of the general policy on this question contended for by himself and his political friends. must be admitted to present the subject in a striking point of view, and to embrace a statement of the historical facts connected with it, remarkably comprehensive and clear. To commercial subjects, indeed, he devoted much of his attention; his inquiries among

practical men were constant, and the results of them were daily noticed in the performance of his public duties. He extended them even beyond the ordinary topics which were brought to the consideration of the senate, and constantly occupied himself in investigations and reflections in regard to them, which, when occasion served, he endeavored to apply to purposes of practical utility. He cherished strongly the desire, also entertained by many of our statesmen, of introducing into the intercourse between nations, those rules which should protect the merchant amid the dangers of war, and preserve the social intercourse of mankind, and the peaceful and beneficial arts, from those dangers which should of right be attendant only on the designs and the contests of the hostile. "With regard," he remarks, in one of his speeches, "to the policy of mitigating the practice and laws of nations, in maritime war, and of establishing the same rules that have obtained in other wars—to except non-combatants and private property from its operations—there can be but one opinion here. Such a modification of the public law on the ocean, would deprive war of most of its destructive and unhappy consequences; would cause that, now permitted against regular commerce and private rights—producing disorders, violence, and crimes, ruinous to one class by making them a prey to the needy and desperate adventurers who rob and plunder by commission, and demoralizing in its influence on all—to cease to disgrace the code of civilized nations; and this object is worthy the profound attention of this government, and of the enlightened age in which we live." In pursuance of these just and benevolent views, he strongly urged the adoption of two principles, whenever it could be effected in our arrangements with foreign nations—that neutral vessels should protect the goods on board, to whomsoever they might belong, and that the articles not to be furnished by neutrals to the contending parties, should be limited to the smallest possible number of such as are of direct use, and essential in their operations. To effect these results, may be regarded as just objects of ambition to every American statesman.

Nearly allied with the subject of commerce, is that of finance; and to this the mind of Mr. JOHNSTON was admirably adapted. Perhaps to no branch of public affairs did he give so much of his attention, and whenever any subject connected with it came under the consideration of the senate, he brought to bear the resources of a memory remarkably well stored with facts, and a mind of great precision and clearness. He was for many years a member of the committee of

finance in the senate, and his sentiments and views on these subjects were always listened to with more than usual respect, even by those who entertained different opinions in regard to the constitutionality and expediency of some measures which he strenuously advocated.

The question of the tariff, of course, occupied much of his attention, not merely as a representative of Louisiana, deeply interested in a question essentially affecting her interests, but as an American statesman, always regarding anxiously those measures which had a direct or remote bearing on the vital principles of the government of his country. Representing in the senate a state whose interests in relation to protecting duties are more doubtful and more nicely balanced than those of any other in the Union, it was always his anxious wish, as he declared, to preserve the rights of one part without sacrificing those of the other. He strenuously maintained the right of congress to lay duties for revenue, for the protection of domestic industry, and as a measure of counteraction against foreign countries. He also repeatedly advocated the policy of extending the aid of the government to sustain our own establishments, until they acquired strength to stand without competition. He admitted the difficulty of compromising and reconciling, by legislation, all the conflicting interests of a nation, so extensive, so diversified in soil, climate, and productions, but held it, as he said, "to be the duty of a statesman, upon great questions of policy, to cast his feelings into the common stock—to look to his country, her constitution, her capacities, her wants, her interests—to act for all, as far as is compatible with the rights and interests peculiarly intrusted to his charge." Engaged himself entirely in the cultivation of cotton, this testimony in favor of a fair protection of American manufactures is more than usually strong, and its force is not a little increased by the liberality and entire freedom from every selfish motive, which distinguished him throughout his public career. But this was not the only result of his situation as a planter. His own experience enabled him to trace to its true cause the depression in the culture of cotton, which was attributed, by several of the Southern states, to the legislative measures he advocated. He has pointed out, with singular felicity and force, the inevitable effects of bringing into a market formerly supplied entirely by themselves, the abundant productions of a new soil, and an extensive territory, peculiarly well fitted for their growth and increase. Though not himself interested in the cultivation of sugar, he devoted to a subject extremely important to his state, constant research, attention, and study. He applied

himself to every source whence useful information could be obtained, and communicated it to his constituents at home. He watched faithfully in congress every suggestion or measure that could affect its prosperity, and his sentiments on this subject agreeing with his general theory of protection, he opposed, with zeal and skill, every measure likely to interfere with it. He has shown, with unusual ability, how closely it is connected with nearly every branch of domestic industry; and his speeches in congress, and occasional essays on this subject, are among the most successful works of the kind that have appeared, during a period fertile in such productions.

Entertaining these opinions in regard to protective policy, and maintaining as he always did, with unshaken firmness, the great principles of the constitution, it may be supposed he viewed with no favorable eye the novel doctrine of nullification, which, unfortunately found advocates among some of the ablest statesmen of the South. Had he been convinced of the existence of the evil, he would still have indignantly opposed the measures resorted to for its remedy. No one had studied with more care the theory of the constitution, or watched more acutely the actual results, the practical interpretation, which had grown out of the experience of forty years. The political and constitutional history of America was his favorite study, and he delighted to trace back to their springs the various views developed in it, and the peculiarities of a system over whose preservation he anxiously watched. In a speech delivered by him on the celebrated resolution of Mr. Foote, he has introduced with great effect the results of his researches and reflections on this interesting topic. He has proved that the doctrine now promulgated has never met the approbation of any state of the Union, even in times of high excitement; and he has shown, that every precedent, cited or assumed, is wanting in those very points which have been relied on to sustain a theory fatal to our government, if its existence is to continue such as it was, when framed and handed down to us by our forefathers.

But the legislative services of Mr. Johnston were not confined to questions of this general and absorbing nature. In the practical character of his mind, and in his personal activity, his constituents and the whole country had a guaranty never deceptive, that all measures of importance, public or private, were attentively watched and considered. The debates of the senate, during the whole period he was seated there, as well as the numerous useful measures, the

adoption of which he urged, facilitated, and not unfrequently secured, give ample evidence of this.

Unfortunately, however, for his country, not less than his friends, this life of beneficial service was destined to be abruptly terminated. He was in the habit of returning to Louisiana, after the close of the sessions of congress, and in the spring of 1833, made that journey, accompanied by his only child, a young man of seventeen. He was received at home with the welcome that always awaited him there; and public dinners were offered to him by his constituents and friends. Having occasion, however, to visit his plantation on the Red river, he first determined to seize the opportunity to proceed as far as Natchitoches, the residence of his father-in-law. For this purpose, he embarked on board of the Lioness, a small steamboat navigating the upper waters of the state. On the evening of the 18th of May, 1833, he and his son left the village of Alexandria. The captain of the vessel, with inexcusable negligence, had a considerable quantity of gunpowder in the hold, unknown to the passengers. About daylight the following morning, as the steamboat was passing the Rigolet Bon Dieu, an explosion took place, occasioned, as is supposed, by a candle taken by one of the sailors into the hold, where the gunpowder was. Three successive explosions, following each other with great rapidity, were heard at a considerable distance, and such was their force, that the fore cabin, the deck above the boiler, (which in the western steamboats is placed on the main deck forward, towards the bow of the vessel,) and the hold under the boiler, were all scattered in fragments over the water. Some of the passengers who were thrown out, saved themselves by seizing these fragments In about two minutes after the catastrophe, the hull of the boat sunk, leaving the ladies' cabin floating on the surface; and from this portion of the wreck several persons were rescued. Mr. Johnston, who was lying in a lower berth, sunk with the boat; but his son, who was in the upper range, was thrown into the water at a considerable distance, and was ultimately rescued by the exertions of some persons, who, seeing him floating on the current, came in a boat from the shore. He was found to be much wounded and burned, but after a confinement of several weeks, regained his health, free from any permanent injury. The body of Mr. Johnston, recovered from the waves, was interred at the cemetery opposite to the village of Alexandria, among the tears of those who regarded him as much with the warm attachment of private friends, as with the respect due to his public services and worth. The sudden termination of a valuable

life, attended with incidents so shocking, must, under any circumstances, have created no common sympathy. But it may be said with truth, that this feeling was displayed in a degree more than usual, in the present instance. Not merely among those who were united with the deceased by a community of political sentiment or personal relations—but among those who differed from him in the former, and who knew him only as a public man—were readily and warmly expressed sincere regrets at the loss which all had experienced. In the usual organs of public sentiment, this was strongly exhibited, and afforded a gratifying proof of the high place in general esteem which may be secured by a life of so much industry and purity.

The character of Mr. JOHNSTON, as a public man, may be gathered from the previous sketch of his life. It was that of one eminently practical, well-informed, useful, and straight-forward. He spared himself no personal or mental labor, in thoroughly understanding the subjects that came under his notice. He was industrious in attending to the various duties that were intrusted to him, and his fidelity to his constituents is best proved by his continued popularity amid the various changes of party. On the topics which more especially affected the prosperity and interests of the community he represented, his information was complete, and his opinions derived all the weight to which this circumstance entitled them. To ensure its accuracy, he omitted no pains. To promote what he believed a true policy, he spared no exertions. On the floor of the senate, and in the chambers of its committees, he was prompt, efficient, and attentive. He suffered no occasion to be lost, when his individual aid could promote the cause he desired to advocate. He took his stand decidedly in the political contests of the day, and on the exertions and steadiness of no one could his friends more firmly rely. But he did it with no selfish views. He was always free from the suspicion of private ends. However firm, he was not less disinterested; and he never sought, directly or indirectly, those objects of personal ambition, which it is hard for any one, moving in the scenes and contests of political life, not to desire. His principles were the result of his deliberate reflections, and throughout life were manfully avowed and consistently maintained. He did not aspire to the character of an orator, but what he said was never heard without attention, and always bore strong marks of the clearness and simplicity of his mind. If he had, in his active career, somewhat neglected those studies merely literary, in which, when young,

he had indulged himself, and to which, in moments of leisure, he always gladly returned, yet his speeches evince an excellent and cultivated taste, and his style is that of a well educated and well read man. To these qualities as a politician, should be added yet another—the kindness of his disposition and the mildness of his demeanor, which, while not interfering with his firmness and consistency, yet gave him an influence and personal consideration that he never lost, amid all the warm and exciting scenes in which he was called on to engage.

In his person, Mr. JOHNSTON was rather below the usual height, but his figure was graceful, and his countenance strikingly indicative of his calm and intelligent character. In his habits, he was social; fond of the amusements of society, and deriving constant enjoyment from an agreeable intercourse with the world. His manners were easy, prepossessing, and unaffected; his conversation, various and gay. There was a warmth and a singleness of purpose in what he said and did, which won the regards of all around. As a friend, they to whom he was attached will bear testimony, that no human being ever more faithfully cherished and performed the duties of that relation—no sacrifice of his time, of his active exertions, or of his fortune, was spared—and those who had a right to regard him as such, knew, absent or present, that he was never found wanting in readiness, fidelity, and zeal. With such dispositions it is hardly necessary to add, that in discharging his domestic duties, he was unsurpassed in excellence and purity. As a husband, a father, a brother, and a son, each successive year, and every situation of his life, seemed to afford him new occasions of displaying instances of exemplary conduct. What wonder, then, if a fate so sudden should be more than commonly deplored—if private sorrow should be deeply blended with the regret which was widely spread, where he was only known for his public services and worth. If there has lived a man to whom could be truly applied the eloquent and affectionate tribute, inscribed by the poet on the monument of his friend, it is the subject of this notice.

> Statesman, yet friend to truth! of soul sincere,
> In action faithful, and in honor clear!
> Who broke no promise, served no private end,
> Who sought no title, and who lost no friend;
> Ennobled by himself, by all approved,
> Praised, wept, and honored, by the friends he loved.

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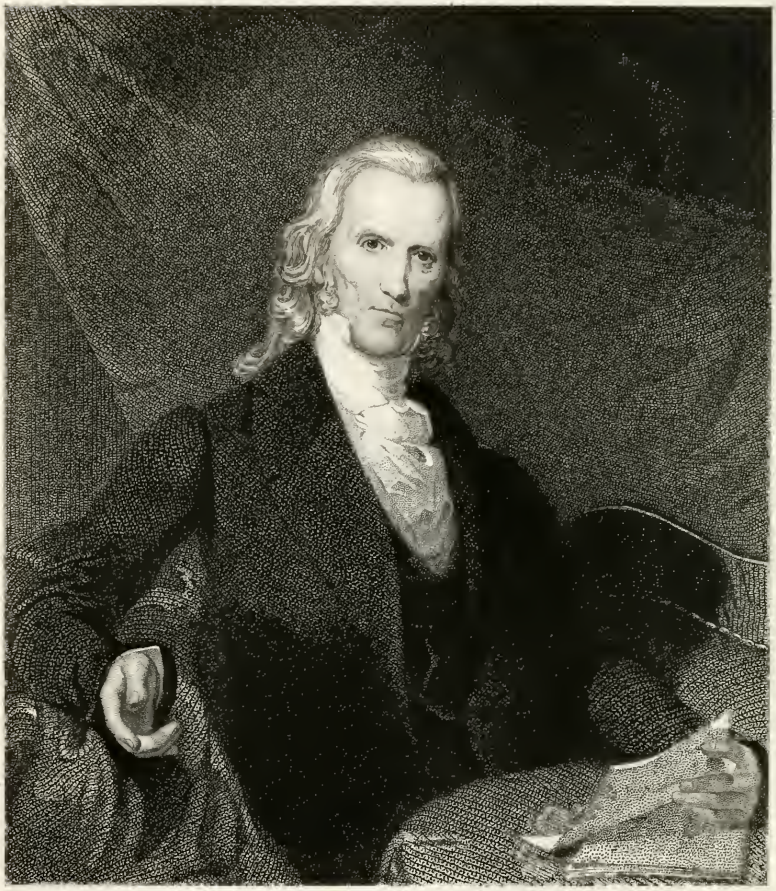

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EDWARD DOUGLASS WHITE

Edward D. White

HUGH L. WHITE.

Hugh L. White was born in Iredell county, North Carolina, in the year 1773. He was the son of respectable and influential parentage, of Irish descent. His father, James White, was a soldier in our memorable struggle for independence; afterwards a general of Tennessee militia, and served with high honor and distinction in the late Creek war. At the close of the Revolution he removed first to Virginia, and then emigrated to Knox county, Tennessee, when Hugh was thirteen years of age. At the time of which we speak, Tennessee was a wilderness; and into this wild abode was the family of Mr. White ushered, with no defence but personal prowess, and no means of subsistence but what were seized in the face of danger and death. But the hardships and perils which the early pioneer had to encounter from the natural obstacles of the unsubdued forest and its terrific inhabitants, have been too often and glowingly described, and are too well known, even to infancy, to need relation here. But in these dangers and perils the family of Mr. White bore no ordinary share. At the age of nineteen Hugh volunteered as a private soldier in the Indian campaigns. In these he was soon distinguished as a brave, vigilant, and untiring soldier. He possessed a constitution peculiarly fitted for rugged duties—a constitution which was preserved in elasticity and firmness, almost in primitive vigor, beyond the boundary of three-score years. These scenes of his early life are interesting only as they were the rough school of discipline in which he acquired and strengthened those hardy Roman virtues which have distinguished his character throughout his whole public career.

The early education of Hugh L. White, was not as thorough and extensive as he could have wished it, and as it would have been under more favorable circumstances. The refinements of polished scholarship had hardly been introduced into Tennessee at that early day. But of the more practical and useful branches of education, such as

qualified him for the discharge of the immediate duties of life, he acquired the utmost that the schools of that day afforded. He was instructed in the ancient languages by the Rev. Samuel Carrick, and Mr. (afterwards Judge) Roane, gentlemen of no mean proficiency in scholarship. To these attainments he afterwards added a course of mathematics, under Professor Patterson of Philadelphia. In 1795 he left Philadelphia for Lancaster, Pennsylvania, where he entered the office of James Hopkins, an eminent lawyer, under whose superintendence he devoted himself with great ardor to the study of the law. Having completed the usual preparatory course, he returned, in 1796, to Knoxville, where he commenced the practice of his profession.

For the five succeeding years Judge WHITE devoted himself unremittingly to the duties of his profession, and rose to high and honorable distinction at the bar. The science of jurisprudence was his especial study; and with such zeal and ability did he enter into the investigation, that he was selected at the early age of twenty-eight, from a body of able and experienced lawyers, to fill the office of Judge of the Superior Court; at that time the highest judicial tribunal in the State. This seat he held till 1807, when he resigned.

As a lawyer, Judge WHITE was one of the most distinguished in the early history of Tennessee. Nor was the bar of Tennessee at that time wanting in men of the first order in legal attainments. Jackson, Whiteside, Overton, and G. W. Campbell were then in the prime of their legal celebrity, and with such men was he associated upon the bench. In legal argumentation, Judge WHITE had but few superiors; yet he was always as fair and honest in debate as he was cogent. He never turned aside to take advantage of quibbles, and quirks, and senseless technicalities; but built his premises upon the plain and obvious meaning of the law, and with abstract truth as his guide, he seldom failed to carry his point. He viewed every thing like cunning and subtlety in the pleadings of the bar with detestation, as he always did the tricks and manœuvres, and intrigues of party politicians. There need be no better evidence that Judge WHITE possessed every qualification of the able, profound, and enlightened jurist, than that he was afterwards offered, and would have been appointed on condition of his accepting a seat upon the Supreme Bench of the United States, which distinguished post of honor he declined. When he was elevated from the bar to the bench, he brought to the discharge of its difficult functions all the qualities already enumerated, and superadded to the essential attributes of judicial authority, great mildness and suavity of manners; yet was he always firm, and dignified, and uncompromis-

ing when duty demanded. To maintain such an office with popularity and respect, both from the people and the bar, is the surest test of merit. Spurious talents or superficial learning cannot be played off undetected upon the bench. The strict integrity of Judge WHITE was proverbial. His opinions were generally remarkable for perspicuity and strength, and many of them able specimens of judicial acumen and research. His long services in his judicial capacity acquired for him the greatest respect and esteem from the gentlemen of the profession, and conferred lasting honor on the bar of Tennessee. Such ample opportunities as were presented during twelve years' experience on the bench, and especially, when afterwards practised upon and enlarged in the course of his political experience, soon rendered Judge WHITE thoroughly acquainted with the spirit and character of the laws of his country.

An interesting anecdote is told of this period of his life, quite characteristic of his republican simplicity. A student of law came a considerable distance to be examined by him, in order to obtain license. The young man had heard much of his ability and learning as a jurist, and expected to be much embarrassed in his presence; but he mustered courage, visited his residence, and on being informed that the Judge was on his farm, went out, and intercepted a man ploughing, and asked for Judge WHITE. "I am the man," was the reply. "I wish to get license to practise law, and have come to be examined." "Well, sir, if you will be good enough to come down into the shade, I will attend to it with a great deal of pleasure." He secured his plough-horse, got over into the cool shade, and took the young man through a most learned and rigid examination—found that he was well qualified, and, after inviting him to his house, and showing him every mark of hospitality and politeness, gave him a license.

In the year 1807 he resigned his judgeship, and retired, in a great measure, to his farm. Agricultural pursuits had always been a favorite occupation, even in the midst of laborious studies; and he would be frequently found in the intervals of his engagements, ploughing in his fields. There appears always to have been a congeniality between great and good minds in the pursuits of agriculture. We pretend not to divine the philosophy of it, or to determine, as has often been contended, why it is that patriotism exists in so much more elevated and fervent devotion in the retirement of the farm than in the busy throng of crowded cities. Whether the fact be so or not, certain it is that many of the noblest instances of sterling patriotism and high-souled principle that have ever figured in the drama of human actions, have been found

among those most devoted to agricultural pursuits. Hypocrisy and intrigue, which are the elements of contracted minds, have little to do in the retirement of the farm; but far removed from the long catalogue of human frailties and vices with which they are so painfully conversant in public life, the good and the great are gratified with the view of the brighter side of humanity, and have there to deal with characters and actions more congenial with the simplicity and greatness of their own natures. Like Jefferson, and Washington, and Madison, Judge White could be induced to leave his farm only when duty, which was the supreme law of his nature, demanded; and when that was performed, he left the rivalries and commotions of public life without a regret, to those whose business it was to foster them.

About this time Judge White was appointed District Attorney for the United States, which station he soon resigned. In 1807 he was elected a senator to the State legislature. While a member of this body he performed many important services to Tennessee, and was the author of a system of land law, for which Tennesseans, who recollect the frauds and controversies of the old system, will ever be grateful. The speech in which he advocated the measure was one of the first which he made as a politician, and was said to have been one of unusual power. In 1809 the judiciary of Tennessee was re-organized, and a Supreme Court instituted. In this high tribunal he was appointed to preside, although he was not a candidate, and was absent from the seat of government two hundred miles when the legislature conferred the appointment. He held this office for six years, and from his faithfulness and ability acquired the utmost respect and popularity from the people, by whose delegated authority he had been appointed. Previous to his resignation in 1815 he was elected President of the State bank. Under his auspices the institution flourished in a high degree, and acquired much character for the prudence and ability of its administration, and the stability of its operations. It obtained a standing in the west equally honorable to the State and beneficial to its financial concerns. He continued twelve years at the head of this institution, including the period of the late war—a period which will be long remembered in the political history of the United States for fiscal distrust, confusion, and difficulty; and which, but for the energies of one man, would have rendered bankrupt the credit of the whole nation.

But while engaged in the double duties of Judge and President of the Bank, he did not forget his country. During the darkest period of the Creek campaign, when General Jackson was surrounded with difficulties such as would have crushed any other man, his brave men

contending not only with savages, but with famine and want, and sustaining life on roots and acorns, Judge White left the bench, and with a single companion, the Hon. Luke Lea, started for the wilderness, hired an Indian guide, and after several days and nights of perilous adventure, found the general's encampment. He told the veteran, that having heard of his difficulties, he had left his business, and come to share his toils and dangers. It was determined, after some consultation, that the Judge should return through the wilderness to Tennessee, and exert his influence in raising volunteers and procuring provisions for the distressed and famishing army. While absent on this expedition, he missed several terms of his court, and by the laws of Tennessee the judges were paid only in proportion to duty performed. The legislature, in consideration of the great services he had rendered General Jackson, passed an order that there should be no deduction of his salary. But with characteristic magnanimity he declined the offer, and would receive no more than that for which he rendered actual service. He said that his country was in distress, that the aid he had rendered was without the hope of reward, and that he would receive none.

In 1817 Judge White was again elected senator by a majority approaching unanimity; and served with distinction the period for which he had been elected.

But the abilities of Hugh L. White were too distinguished, and too well appreciated by his countrymen, to be confined within the limits of a single State. He was appointed, in 1820, by President Monroe, one of the commissioners under the Spanish treaty, in conjunction with Littleton W. Tazewell and Gov. King. Previous to this time his attention had been confined chiefly to the laws affecting individual rights and private property. The rights and laws of nations had little connexion with the administration of justice in an interior State; but as the sphere of his operations was widened, he was found to possess mental resources corresponding to the increased demand. With such success did he apply himself to the details of commercial, maritime, and international law, that he won the esteem and confidence of his able colleagues—men who had been experienced, and profoundly versed in the science of public law. He held this appointment until 1824, at which time the commission expired. In the same year he was again unanimously appointed a Judge of the Court of Appeals, but he declined the appointment. In 1825 General Jackson resigned his seat in the United States senate, and Judge White was unanimously elected to fill out the term. In 1827 he was again unanimously elect

ed to serve the next six years. And yet again, amidst the hottest party rancor, the legislature bestowed their undivided suffrage upon him for another term of six years, in 1835.

We are now to review the life of Judge WHITE in the most important and interesting scenes of the many in which he took a part. Hitherto we have viewed him chiefly as a jurist and a local politician. But his life and acts became now identified with national history and national interests. And from the character which he acquired in this political capacity, from the ability and faithfulness with which he discharged the functions of the high stations which he occupied, must he stand or fall to the people of this nation. In the year 1825 Judge WHITE brought into our national councils great weight of character. At that time he had the unlimited confidence of every party in the government. During this era of great achievements in our political history—memorable for the revolutionizing of our national policy, for the demolishing of long-established institutions, and the building up new; for bold and untried adventure in the theory and practice of government—which will distinguish this era of our political history for ages to come—during all this mighty conflict of principle, Judge WHITE was constantly upon the ground. He bore his part in them all, as friend or foe. This period is too fresh in the memory of all, and the measures too notorious to be detailed in this place. But during this comparatively short period of his public career, more weighty subjects were discussed, more doubtful points of national policy settled, more difficulties removed from the free administration of government, more political heresies broached and exterminated, than in any other period of American history of the same length. The whole theory of government was subjected to an inquisition, which spared neither the ancient, nor the venerable, nor the strong, nor the weak. In the scales of justice or honesty they were all weighed, and found the level, or the supposed level, of their merits. Its maritime and commercial policy was revolutionized. Its banking establishments upturned. The powers of the general government, in internal improvements and executive patronage, were scrutinized. The origin and nature of the federal compact was discussed with earnestness and ability; and its value calculated, and its fundamental principles bandied about with the familiarity of toys. With what character Judge WHITE passed through these scenes, is known to every man in the nation

In 1832 John C. Calhoun resigned the Vice-Presidency of the United States, and the senate was left without a presiding officer. It was

on the eve of that memorable session, when the debate upon the tariff had well-nigh severed the Union. The first talent of the nation was there congregated, and every man had arrayed himself upon one side or the other. The prize at issue was the CONSTITUTION. And the leaders of the respective divisions came armed with the resolution to carry their measures, though disunion on one side and civil war on the other were the consequence. Proud in the strength of conscious greatness, irritated by supposed aggressions or tyranny, and discordant to a degree that almost banished deliberation, they foresaw that troublous times were not far distant. It was seen that no ordinary mind could be able to curb the outbreakings of passion, and to maintain its equipoise through so doubtful a contest. In full view of all these difficulties, Judge WHITE was elected president of the senate; and how he sustained the exalted expectations of that body and the nation is now a matter of history. The firmness, impartiality, decision, and dignity with which he presided over the stormy debate, proved that no false estimate had been placed upon his character.

The intellectual character of Judge WHITE would bear a fair and honorable comparison with the first talent in the senate. As an orator, in the popular acceptation of the term, he is not so distinguished as many members in the house of Congress. He possessed little of that rich profusion of imagination which throws such a charm over the oratory of a Clay, or a Pinckney, or a Wirt. But as a reasoner and debater, he exhibited strength and cogency of argument on more than one occasion, which would rank him as one of the able logicians on the floor of Congress. In the discussion upon the Panama Mission he was particularly distinguished; and the combatants in that debate were no striplings in mind and attainments. The profoundest talent in the nation, and the deepest constitutional learning, were brought to bear upon it.

One of the most powerful efforts he ever made in the senate was on the morning after he received the tidings that the hand of death had torn asunder the tenderest fibres of human affection. It was his speech on the Indian bill. This question had occasioned great embarrassment and concern to President Jackson. Judge WHITE was chairman of the committee; the weight of the measure devolved upon him, and procrastination was certain defeat. But he appeared in his seat, asked no indulgence, made no apology; and, showing a fortitude worthy of his character, made one of the ablest and most successful efforts ever witnessed in that body, and carried the measure. Such lofty and honorable views of the nature and obligation of a trust, such

intense devotion to its fulfilment, distinguished him in every station of life. This honorable and enviable fact in his history will be remembered when this generation shall have passed away.

At the election for President of the United States, in the autumn of 1836, Judge White received the votes of the states of Georgia and Tennessee. He retired from the senate in 1839 to private life, and died at his residence near Knoxville, on the tenth of April, 1841, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

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Jac: Brown

JACOB BROWN.

Major-General Jacob Brown was born in Bucks county, Pennsylvania, in the year 1775. His first ancestor in America, George Brown, was an emigrant from England before the establishment of William Penn, on the Delaware river, and was well known as a man of vigorous and cultivated intellect. His children and grandchildren partook of his character, and several of them were for many successive years, prominent members of the provincial government of Pennsylvania. Samuel Brown, the father of the subject of this memoir, and the fourth in the line of descent from George, was a man of high character and strong mental endowments. He was the third of the family who had professed the principles of quakerism, and was a frank, liberal, and enlightened man. His father left him in possession of a valuable, flourishing, and unincumbered estate; but with the hope of making it still more valuable, he imprudently embarked in some commercial enterprises which proved unfortunate, and his property was totally sacrificed.

Jacob Brown was at this time about sixteen years of age; and it was remarked that his father's pecuniary misfortunes wrought an instantaneous change in his character and conduct. In a spirit of manly resolution, superior to his years, he formed the determination of retrieving the fortunes of his family, and from that moment he devoted himself assiduously to the task. To this object are to be traced his succeeding exertions in preparing himself for the practical business of life; and in these exertions, perhaps, were laid the foundations of that distinguished reputation, which he has transmitted to his descendants. From the age of eighteen to twenty-one, he was entrusted with the management of a large and respectable school at Crosswicks, New Jersey; and during this period of time, his efforts to improve his mind were laborious and unremitted. During the two next years he was employed in that section of the country which now constitutes the state of Ohio, in surveying and laying out public lands.

Soon after his return in 1798, he removed to the city of New York, and was again induced, by the solicitation of his friends, to take charge of a school for a few months. But the cultivation of his mind, and the preparation of its powers for future action, were still the principal objects of his exertions; and at that excited period in the political history of the country, an ample theatre for improvement was presented to him in the discussion of the great topics of public interest on which parties were divided. He did not fail to convert the occasion to his use. He took a prominent part in political debates, and the press exhibited frequent essays from his pen, which attracted no inconsiderable share of the public attention. During his residence in New York, he commenced the study of the law, but soon abandoned it as uncongenial with his disposition for active and adventurous pursuits. An opportunity being presented to him to make a purchase of land on the borders of Lake Ontario and the river St. Lawrence, in that part of the state of New York which is now the county of Jefferson, he established himself upon it while it was wholly uncultivated, and built the first human habitation within thirty miles of the lake. Under his direction the new settlement soon became flourishing and extensive; and to the influence, which he subsequently acquired with the legislature of the state in various public situations, which he filled, the county of Jefferson owes much of its early prosperity and wealth. Immediately after effecting some necessary improvements, he removed his parents to his new abode: he established them near him, and to the close of his life he devoted himself to their happiness and comfort.

The active and enterprising spirit, by which General Brown was distinguished in his youth, was chastised by repeated discouragements. But his energy never for a moment forsook him; his first and last acts bear the same impression of fearlessness and resolution. His early life was a scene of constant trial. He was thrown, when a mere youth, upon his own resources; and his powers were tasked to the utmost in providing simultaneously for his education and his subsistence. But every obstacle was overcome by the same firmness and perseverance, which, in the progress of his military career, enabled him to triumph over difficulties far more trying and formidable.

In 1809, he was appointed a colonel in the militia; and in the following year he was promoted to the rank of brigadier general.

At the declaration of war in 1812, he was selected to defend the eastern frontier of Lake Ontario and the southern shore of the river

St. Lawrence, a line extending from Oswego to Lake St. Francis, and nearly two hundred miles in length. The duty imposed on him was, from the exposed condition of the frontier, highly responsible and delicate; and from the inadequate means at his disposal, it was also both embarrassing and vexatious. It was, however, discharged with his characteristic promptitude and vigor; the vulnerable points were put in the best possible state of defence; and on the 4th of October, he succeeded in repelling an attack made upon him at Ogdensburg, where he had fixed his head quarters, by a British force far superior to his own in numbers. In this affair, the enemy lost several men in killed and wounded, while on his own side, no one sustained the least injury.

The term for which he was called into service having soon after wards expired, he returned to his civil pursuits at Brownville. But his capacity for war had attracted the attention of the government, and the command of a regiment in the regular army was immediately tendered to him. The offer, however, from a determination on his own part to submit to no sacrifice of rank, was declined.

In the spring of 1813, the regular forces having been almost wholly withdrawn from Sackett's Harbor, to act in the reduction of Little York and Fort George, in Upper Canada, a demonstration against that post was made by a British force from Kingston, under the command of Sir George Prevost, and Sir James Yeo. Colonel Backus of the dragoons, who had been left at Sackett's Harbor with about four hundred regular troops, having been but a few days on the frontier, and being unacquainted with its localities, immediately despatched a message to General Brown, who resided within eight miles of the post, requesting him, in a noble spirit of disinterested ness, to come and take the command, and to bring with him as large a body of the militia, as he could assemble. To this request, alike honorable to both parties, an immediate assent was given. Colonel Backus was promptly reinforced by several hundred men of General Brown's brigade, and their united forces were disposed by the general with admirable skill and judgment. The attack of the enemy was fierce, and for a time successful; but after a series of skilful and spirited movements on the part of General Brown, and a most gallant and resolute resistance by the regular troops, the British forces were completely vanquished, and retreated precipitately to their boats. The British loss was about four hundred and fifty, while that of the American force was only one hundred and fifty-six. Among the slain was the brave and chivalrous Backus, who

fell, animating the courage of his men by gallant exhibitions of his own.

General Brown again retired to his rural abode and occupations, and in the month of August ensuing, he was appointed a brigadier-general in the regular army. He descended the St. Lawrence in the fall of the same year, on the expedition against Montreal, which was frustrated by a want of concert and coöperation between the commanding generals of the two divisions of the northern army.

Early in 1814, General Brown was promoted to the rank of major-general, and was placed in command of the northern division of the army at French Mills. The military reputation of the country was at this period exceedingly depressed. The principal enterprises, in which our forces were embarked during the latter part of the year 1813, had proved abortive; and a strong feeling of disappointment had taken possession of the public mind—a feeling rendered more acute by the confident hopes, with which they had been undertaken. The officers of the army were deeply chagrined, both on account of the ill success attending the expeditions referred to, and the unfavorable impression which prevailed with regard to their military capacity. General Brown labored during the winter, to inspire his subordinates with a resolution to retrieve the reputation of the army; he had the good fortune to gain their confidence, and, with the aid of many spirited and efficient coadjutors, he succeeded not only in renewing the spirit of the northern army, but in uniting to it that mechanical discipline, which was indispensable to give it effect. To these exertions are to be ascribed the brilliant triumphs, which he subsequently achieved.

In the spring of 1814, he marched his division from French Mills to Sackett's Harbor, and thence to Buffalo, and after executing a few necessary preparations, he crossed the Niagara river and carried Fort Erie, which surrendered without any resistance.

On the 5th of July, General Brown fought the battle of Chippewa, the first in that series of distinguished successes, which have so eminently contributed to exalt our military character. The British forces had made a rapid advance from the Chippewa with the hope of finding the American commander unprepared for their reception, and were hardly formed in line, when General Scott was ordered to make an attack with the first brigade. The combat was maintained with great gallantry on both sides in the open field, where victory must necessarily turn on superior bravery or skill. After a brief, but sanguinary conflict, and before the second brigade under General

Ripley could be brought into the field, the whole British force was routed, and retired precipitately under cover of their works on the Chippewa creek, which alone secured them from total destruction.

On the evening of the 25th of July, the two armies again met at Niagara, in the immediate vicinity of the falls. General Brown had sent forward General Scott with his brigade to divert the enemy from the design of crossing to the opposite side of the strait, for the purpose of seizing upon the depot of the American army, and thus cutting off their supplies of munitions and subsistence. The moment General Scott came in sight of the enemy, he made an attack, and despatched intelligence to General Brown, who was in a few minutes on the field, followed by General Ripley's brigade. The combat now became obstinate and bloody beyond all parallel. It was fought like the battle of Chippewa, in the open field, but with advantages on the part of the enemy, against which nothing but superior courage and skilfulness in evolution could have prevailed. Here, as at Chippewa, the American army was completely victorious. The enemy had chosen his own ground; he was attacked in a commanding position, which he had occupied with superior numbers, and which was sheltered by a height elevated above the surrounding country, and garnished with artillery. From this position he was driven at the point of the bayonet, his cannon captured, and his forces completely put to rout. After this discomfiture, he was reinforced by fresh troops from Fort George and Queenston, and made three unsuccessful attempts to regain possession of the height by charging the American line. The two last charges were among the most desperate in the annals of warfare. They were decided entirely by the bayonet, and the result is the best evidence of the firmness and spirit, which animated the contending parties.

The skill evinced by General Brown in meeting all the fluctuations of the battle with such movements as were necessary to counteract the advantages of his opponents, and to give effect to his own; the coolness, with which he executed his plans; and the spirit of self-devotion, in which he maintained his position at the head of his troops until the victory was complete, although he had received two severe wounds, and was so much exhausted by the loss of blood, that he was supported on his horse by the members of his military family; have given him a high and enviable rank in the military history of his country.

It was not until the 2d of September that he was sufficiently recovered from his wounds to resume the command of the army. It

was then enclosed within the walls of Fort Erie, environed by superior numbers, worn down by a long and harrassing siege, destitute of necessaries as well as comforts, deficient in munitions of war and abandoned, as it were, to its own efforts. The enemy's force amounted nearly to four thousand men, while the American army did not exceed half that number. With this inferior force, enfeebled by laborious service, General Brown, after having executed all his preparations with profound secresy, made a sortie on the 17th September, at midday, drove the besiegers from their entrenchments, and either destroyed or rendered their works totally unserviceable. The loss of the enemy was one thousand, and that of the American army five hundred. On the 21st, the enemy abandoned his position, and retired beyond the Chippewa. Thus was executed one of the most brilliant achievements of the war, and it may be said to have crowned the other successes on the Niagara frontier, in which there had been a successive display of firmness, intrepidity and persevering resolution, with an instance of boldness as spirited as any to be found on the records of modern warfare.

General Brown was eminently qualified to excel in the military profession. With a constitutional insensibility to fear, he united a moral courage, which was equally proof against surprise or intimidation. Responsibility he never feared; he was always ready to meet any emergency however remotely connected with the discharge of his duty to his country, or to himself; nor could any obstacle, however formidable, deter him from the execution of his objects. Indeed, it was on the most trying occasions, that he appeared to the best advantage; when dangers were greatest, his coolness and resolution were most conspicuous. With all the energy and vigor which distinguished his plans, they were never rash or imprudent; he never embarked in an enterprise without fortifying it with such means of achievement, as might, with skilful management and unshaken firmness, be safely relied on, as adequate to the execution of his object.

It is worthy of remark, that General Brown never failed in any enterprise which he conducted himself, or which he caused to be executed under the direction of others. Every partisan movement undertaken by his orders, by officers chosen by himself, was successful. He was, in truth, not less remarkable for the sagacity with which he selected the individuals best calculated for the particular service to be performed, than for the promptness with which he always resolved on the right course of action in different emergencies

The vigor which he infused into his offensive movements, was altogether unlooked for by the British generals on the Niagara. The operations of the American army had in general been vacillating and dilatory; and the effect of General Brown's movements was, for this reason, the more decisive. The firmness with which the British forces were encountered on the open field of battle, was also wholly unexpected. It had been vauntingly said that the "British bayonet was irresistible;" but on the Niagara, man was opposed to man, and the tide of victory was more than once turned against the British forces by the very weapon to which they appealed as the test of their invincibility.

At the close of the war, General Brown was retained in the command of the northern division of the army, and after the reduction of the peace establishment in 1821, he became commander-in-chief. From that time he resided in the city of Washington until the 24th February, 1828, when he fell a victim to an attack brought on by a disease which he contracted at Fort Erie, and from the effects of which he was never exempt until it terminated his life.

In person, General Brown was tall, erect, and commanding; his countenance was animated and full of intelligence; and it was not difficult to trace in its strong and decided expression, that energy of character, which he has so deeply impressed on the actions of his life.

The impression made upon the public mind by General Brown's decease, while yet in the full vigor of manhood, was deep and universal; an impression corresponding with his high character, and unsullied fame. The estimation in which he was held by those with whom he was most immediately connected by official relations, will be best illustrated by the following general order, issued by the direction of the president of the United States on the occasion of his decease.

"DEPARTMENT OF WAR,
February 28th, 1828.

ORDERS.

"The secretary of war, by direction of the president of the United States, announces to the army the painful intelligence of the decease (the 24th of February) of Major-General Brown.

"To say that he was one of the men who have rendered most important services to his country, would fall far short of the tribute due to his character. Uniting with the most unaffected simplicity, the highest degree of personal valor, and of intellectual energy, he

stands preëminent before the world, and for after ages, in that band of heroic spirits, who, upon the ocean and the land, formed and sustained, during the second war with Great Britain, the martial reputation of their country. To this high and honorable purpose, General Brown may be truly said to have sacrificed his life; for the disease which abridged his days, and has terminated his career at a period scarcely beyond the meridian of manhood, undoubtedly originated in the hardships of his campaigns on the Canada frontier, and in that glorious wound, which, though desperate, could not remove him from the field of battle, till it was won.

"Quick to perceive, sagacious to anticipate, prompt to decide, and daring in execution, he was born with the qualities which constitute a great commander. His military coup d'œuil, his intuitive penetration, his knowledge of men, and his capacity to control them, were known to all his companions in arms, and commanded their respect, while the gentleness of his disposition, the courtesy of his deportment, his scrupulous regard to their rights, his constant attention to their wants, and his affectionate attachment to their persons, universally won their hearts, and bound them to him as a father.

"Calm and collected in the presence of the enemy, he was, withal, tender of human life; in the hour of battle, more sparing of the blood of the soldier than his own. In the hour of victory, the vanquished enemy found in him a humane and compassionate friend; not one drop of blood, shed in wantonness or cruelty, sullies the purity of his fame. Defeat he was never called to endure; but in the crisis of difficulty and danger, he displayed untiring patience and fortitude, not to be overcome.

"Such was the great and accomplished captain whose loss the army has now, in common with their fellow citizens of all classes, to deplore. While indulging the kindly impulses of nature, and yielding the tribute of a tear upon his grave, let it not be permitted to close upon his bright example, as it must upon his mortal remains. Let him be more nobly sepulchred in the hearts of his fellow soldiers, and his imperishable monument be found in their endeavors to emulate his virtues.

"The officers of the army will wear the badge of mourning for six months on the left arm, and hilt of the sword. Guns will be fired at each military post, at intervals of thirty minutes from the rising to the setting of the sun, on the day succeeding the arrival of this order, during which, the national flag will be suspended at half mast."

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ALEXANDER MACOMB,

MAJOR GENERAL U. S. A.

ALEXANDER MACOMB.

For what of thrilling sympathy,
Did e'er in human bosom vie,
With that which stirs the soldier's breast,
When, high in god-like worth confest,
Some noble leader gives command,
To combat for his native land?
No; friendship's freely flowing tide,
The soul expanding; filial pride,
That hears with craving, fond desire,
The bearings of a gallant sire;
The yearnings of domestic bliss,—
E'en love itself, will yield to this.—JOANNA BAILLIE.

MAJOR GENERAL ALEXANDER MACOMB, formerly at the head of the army of the United States, was one of those men whom his country delights to honor; for he served faithfully, and rose gradually in the army, and was thoroughly acquainted with his duties. He, perhaps, more than any other man in our army, may be considered as having been a soldier from the cradle. He was born at Detroit, April 3d, 1782. The city of Detroit, at that time, was a garrison town, and among the first images that struck his eyes were those of the *circumstances* of war. Such early impressions often fix the character of the man.

The father of the subject of this sketch was a fur merchant, respectably descended and connected. He removed to the city of New York while ALEXANDER was yet an infant. When he was eight years of age, he placed him at school at Newark, in New Jersey, under the charge of the Reverend Doctor Ogden, a man of mind, belonging to a family distinguished for talents. The time was one of high excitement: the French revolution was raging with great fury, and our countrymen took sides. In every enlightened nation, boys are among the first to take impressions, which are often lasting. It is not a little singular that the late major general of the army of the United States, and a former secretary of war, General Cass, were, during the French revolution, officers of Lilliputian bands at the seminaries in which they were educated: the one at Newark in New Jersey, and the other at Exeter academy in New Hampshire. Not only is military fire

kindled in the hearts of youth, at such an age, but in such associations they learn much of that part of the art of war which depends upon ardor, quickness, and imitative power, rather than upon deep reasoning. Being acquainted with all possible forms in which men can be placed, and the time required for each movement, the officer in battle with all this elementary and practical knowledge at once in his mind, can compare, combine, and decide without hesitation. The deep interest boys take in military exercises is beautifully described in an unpublished poem, found among the papers of that elegant classical scholar and poet, the late Nathaniel H. Carter, Esq., who was a member of the military corps at Exeter about eight or ten years after Gen. Cass had left the institution.

"And now the labors of the studious day
Conclude, and give the evening hours to play,
At beat of drum with sword and armor sheen,
The mimic train-band form upon the green.
With snowy frock and trowsers fringed with red,
And blood-tipt feather nodding on his head,
The youthful soldier struts, and slaps with pride,
The jetty box, suspended at his side;
While o'er him waves the motto'd flag of stars,
Which join in friendship MERCURY and MARS.
Meantime the captain, of his station proud,
Unsheaths his sword, and gives the word aloud;
Along the line with gait majestic walks,
And much of discipline, and order talks;
Observes the rogue, and sternly reprimands,
Who turns his head, or disobeys commands;
Then calls subalterns to the grave debate,
And tells of tactics, used in ev'ry state,
Explains what code the English corps adopts,
And which the mighty power of Gallia props.
Proud was this CHIEF of BOYS, and happier far,
Than Europe's scourge, and thunderbolt of war,
Who terror struck to prostrate prince and throne,
In every clime from Wolga to the Rhone,
Reign'd haughtiest monarch of the world awhile,
Then sunk the tenant of a little isle."

In 1798, while MACOMB was quite a youth, he was elected a member of a select company, which was called "The New York Rangers." The name was taken from that Spartan band of rangers, selected from the provincials, who from 1755 to 1763, were the élite of every British commander on lake George, and the borders of Canada. At the time he entered the corps of New York Rangers, congress had passed a law receiving volunteers for the defence of the country, as

invasion by a French army was anticipated. This patriotic band volunteered their services to government, which were accepted, but he soon left this corps, and obtained a cornetcy at the close of the year 1798, and was commissioned in January, 1799. General North, then adjutant general of the northern army, saw the merits of the youthful soldier, and took him into his staff, as deputy adjutant general. Under such a master as the intelligent and accomplished North, Macomb made great progress in his profession, and in the affections of his brother officers of the army. The young officer that Hamilton noticed, and North instructed, could not fail to be ambitious of distinction. He visited Montreal, in order to observe the discipline and tactics of the veteran corps kept at that important military post, and did not neglect his opportunities.

The thick and dark cloud that hung over the country passed away,—a great part of the troops were disbanded, and most of the officers and men returned to private life; a few only were retained; among them was Macomb, who was commissioned as a second lieutenant of dragoons, and sent forthwith on the recruiting service, but, it was not then necessary to push the business, and as he was stationed in Philadelphia, he had opportunities to associate with the best informed men of the city, and found easy access to the Franklin and other extensive libraries, which advantages he did not fail to improve.

When his body of recruits was formed, he marched with it to the western frontiers to join General Wilkinson, an officer who had been left in service from the revolutionary war. In the company of Wilkinson (a man of talents and fascinating manners, notwithstanding his vanity,) and of Colonel Williams, the engineer, he gathered a mass of materials for future use. With them he went into the Cherokee country to aid in making a treaty with that nation. He was on this mission nearly a year, and kept a journal of every thing he saw or heard. This was a good school for one whose duty it might hereafter be to fight these very aborigines, and, in fact, the lessons of the wilderness were not lost on one of mind and observation. The corps to which he belonged was disbanded, and a corps of engineers formed, to which he was attached as first lieutenant. He was now sent to West Point, where he was by the code there established, a pupil as well as an officer. Being examined and declared competent, he was appointed an adjutant of the corps at that post, and discharged his duty with so much spirit and intelligence, that when the first court-martial, after his examination, was convened, he was appointed judge advocate. This court was ordered for the trial of a distinguished

officer for disobeying an arbitrary order for cutting off the hair. Peter the Great could not carry such an order into execution, but our republican country did; and the veteran, Colonel Butler, was reprimanded for not throwing his white locks to the wind, when ordered so to do by his superior. The talents and arguments exhibited by Macomb, as judge advocate on this court-martial, brought him into great notice as a man of intellect, as well as soldier. He was called upon to compile a treatise on martial law, and the practice of courts-martial, which book became subsequently the standard work upon courts-martial for the army of the United States. In 1805, Macomb was promoted to the rank of captain in the corps of engineers, and sent to the sea-board to superintend the fortifications which had been ordered by an act of congress. By this service he became known to the first men in the country, and his merits were duly appreciated from New Hampshire to the Floridas.

In 1808, he was promoted to the rank of major, and acted as superintendent of fortifications, until just before the war, when he was advanced to a lieutenant colonelcy. He was again detailed to act as judge advocate on a court-martial for the trial of General Wilkinson, who had called the court on Colonel Butler. He added to his reputation in this case. Wilkinson was his friend, but Macomb discharged his duty with military exactness.

At the breaking out of the war of 1812, he left the seat of government, where he had discharged an arduous duty, in assisting to give form and regularity to the army just raised by order of congress. All sorts of confusion had prevailed from the want of a uniform system of military tactics: he was fortunate in his exertions. When there was honorable war he could not be satisfied to remain, as it were, a cabinet officer, and wear a sword only to advise what should be done, which seemed to be the regulation of the army in respect to engineers. He therefore solicited a command in the corps of artillery that was to be raised, and was gratified by a commission as colonel of the third regiment, dated July 6, 1812. The regiment was to consist of twenty companies of one hundred and eighteen men each. The command was, in fact, though not in rank the command of a division. His reputation assisted in raising this body of men, and in November of that year he marched to the frontiers with his command and with his troops spent the winter at Sackett's Harbor. He contemplated an attack upon Kingston, but was defeated in his plan by the fears of some, and the jealousies of others. He soon distinguished himself at Niagara and Fort George, at the time Commodore Chauncey

was endeavoring to bring the enemy's fleet to battle on Lake Ontario. The next service he performed was under General Wilkinson, and if the campaign was not successful, MACOMB was not chargeable with any portion of the failure.

In January, 1814, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier general, and appointed to a command on the east side of Lake Champlain. Nothing of importance in the history of General MACOMB took place, although he was constantly on the alert in the discharge of his duties, until the coronal of his fame was won at the defence of Plattsburgh. This defence our limits will not permit us to describe with any minuteness: suffice it to say, that in the summer of 1814, Sir George Prevost, governor general of the Canadas, had received a great augmentation of his regular forces, by detachments from the army which had fought in Spain and Portugal, under the Duke of Wellington. These were among the best troops of England, and he now determined to strike a blow upon our frontiers that should be decisive of the war, and bring our nation to terms at once. His fleet, on Lake Champlain, was considered superior to ours, and he was well informed that we had not there any army of consequence. Early in September he pushed on towards Plattsburgh, and met, for several days, with little opposition. His error was delay; but he wished to move safely, and saw nothing to prevent his progress. Previous to the 11th, there had been some smart skirmishing, in which the British found more courage and efficiency than they expected from troops so hastily called out. Early on the 11th, the British gave battle by land and water—fifteen hundred men of the regular army, and certain bodies of militia, made up MACOMB's army. The enemy was fourteen thousand strong. The battle was a decisive victory on the part of the American forces; Macdonough captured the British fleet, and Sir George returned to Canada the next night. The victory was as brilliant as unexpected. Honors were voted MACOMB in every part of the country. New York and Vermont were foremost in their tributes of respect. The president promoted him to the rank of major general, dating his commission on the day of his victory. The success had a happy effect on the negotiations then going on at Ghent, and unquestionably paved the way for a treaty of peace. Whoever wishes to see a detail of this battle, should turn to the pages of an excellent memoir of the general from the pen of "George H. Richards, Esq., *a captain in* MACOMB's *artillery, in the late war;*" who has since left the service. This work comes warm from the bosom of friendship, but contains much beauty and accuracy of detail. We acknowledge ourselves

indebted to that memoir for many of the incidents of the life of General Macomb.

After the close of the war he commanded at Detroit, his birth, place. He was received at this military post with distinguished honors; many remembered his person, and all had kept his reputation in view as reflecting honor upon the territory in which he was born. He continued at that post attentive to his duty, and devising liberal measures for the people of that region, without confining his exertions to any particular portion of the territory, until in 1821 he was called to Washington to take the office of chief of the engineer department. On the receipt of this information, he was addressed by all classes of the people of Detroit, in the most exalted language of friendship and regard. On his arrival at Washington, he assumed the duties of the bureau he was called to, and discharged them to the satisfaction of the government, and the army. On the death of General Brown, commander-in-chief of the army, General Macomb was appointed to that station. His nomination was confirmed by the senate, and although there were some difficulties in the way about relative rank, General Macomb was supported in his office not only by the president and the senate, but by the almost entire voice of the people. Matters, which at one time threatened discord and confusion, were happily surmounted, and harmony restored. He remembered the advantages he received at West Point, and was constantly the friend of that institution. Great commanders may arise in the exigencies of a nation, from the bosom of private life; but the regular hopes of the people for military men, must be founded on the provision made to educate youth in the art and science of war; for which we must be prepared until the time arrives when *the sword shall be beaten into a plough-share, and the spear into a pruning hook.*

General Macomb continued to be commander-in-chief of the army until his death, on the 25th of June, 1842.

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